Daily Report

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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Foreign Ministry Recognizes Baltic Republics *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Diplomatic Relations With South Korea Established *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Construction Minister Mysliu Leaves for Libya *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Bufi Receives Exarch of Constantinople Patriarchate *[ATA]* 1
Party Leaders on 'Crisis of Confidence' *[DRITA 11 Aug]* 1
Motherland Political Association Approved *[Tirana Radio]* 4
BASHKIMI Deplores Declining Army Discipline *[16 Aug]* 4
Association of Former Political Prisoners Formed *[ATA]* 4
PSSh Worried About Opposition Statement *[ATA]* 5
Cooperativist Union Demands Help for Agriculture *[Tirana Radio]* 5
Independent Trade Unions' 12 Demands *[Tirana Radio]* 5

BULGARIA

Government Decision on Miners Strike Published *[TRUD 22 Aug]* 7
Reportage on Visit of Israel's Shamir 7
Popov on Ending PLO 'Cooperation' *[Jerusalem Radio]* 7
Shamir on Trade Position *[BTA]* 7
Shamir on Cooperation *[BTA]* 8
Shamir on 'New Stage' in Relations *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Defense Ministry Denies Army Alert on SFRY Border *[Sofia Radio]* 9
Vice President Semerdzhiev Receives PASOK Delegation *[BTA]* 9
Government To Import Grain To Replenish Reserves *[BTA]* 9
Army Daily Urges Rejection of USSR Army Experience *[BULGARSKA ARMIYA 22 Aug]* 9
Military Union Spokesman on USSR-Type Coup *[Sofia Radio]* 10
Mutafchiev Outlines Defense Priorities on Radio *[BTA]* 10
Drug Abuse, Addiction Increasing Problem *[ANTENI 21 Aug]* 11
Sofia City Council Demands BSP Property *[Sofia Radio]* 11
SDS Dimitrov Interviewed on Role of Army *[BULGARSKA ARMIYA 21 Aug]* 12
BZNS-United Register White Electoral Ballot *[Sofia Radio]* 13

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Comments on Presidency, Domestic Politics *[LIDOVE NOVINY 21 Aug]* 14
Dubcek Responds to Criticism on Coup Stance *[NARODNA OBRODA 26 Aug]* 15
Poll Views Attitudes Toward Constitutional Setup *[CTK]* 16
Report Says Troop Redeployment Going As Planned *[NARODNA OBRODA 24 Aug]* 16
Article on Agents, Weapons Left Behind by Soviets *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 24 Aug]* 17
Dienstbier Comments on Meeting With Cheney *[CTK]* 17
Carnogursky Discusses Integration With Europe *[Bratislava Radio]* 18

HUNGARY

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on SFRY, Baltics *[MTI]* 19
Foreign Affairs Committee Meets Slovene Minister *[MTI]* 19
Army Official Visits Romanian Counterpart *[MTI]* 19
UJ MAGYARORSZAG Rejects Possibility of Coup *[22 Aug]* 20
President Goncz Reviews Past Year's Events *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 18 Aug]* 20
Reportage on Goncz Visit to Finland *[cross-reference]* 24

POLAND

'Solidarity' Commission Approves Election Lists *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 22 Aug]* 25
Walesa Refuses To Meet With Angry Pensioners *[PAP]* 25
Council Approves Presidium's Position on Baltics *[PAP]* 26

ROMANIA

Response to Moldova's Independence Proclamation 27
Iliescu Statement *[Bucharest Radio]* 27
Roman Message *[Bucharest Radio]* 27
Roman Interviewed *[Paris TV]* 27
Government Declaration *[Bucharest Radio]* 28
FSN Issues Statement *[ROMPRES]* 28
Iliescu Views Soviet Coup Failure, Moldovan Ties *[Paris LE FIGARO 23 Aug]* 29

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Presidency Session Resumes in Belgrade *[TANJUG]* 30
Austrian Stance on Republican Independence Examined *[TANJUG]* 30
Presidency Vice President Leaves for Libya *[TANJUG]* 30
Forces Representatives Not at Presidency Session *[Zagreb Radio]* 30
Croatian, Army Leaders Discuss Peace Efforts *[Zagreb Radio]* 31
Croatian, YPA Delegations Open Brioni Talks *[TANJUG]* 31
Cease-Fire Commission Issues Statement *[TANJUG]* 31
Army-Croatian Talks Urge Further Peace Efforts *[TANJUG]* 32

Croatia

Tudjman To Meet Mitterrand in Paris 28 August *[TANJUG]* 32
Tudjman Hopes for Visit *[Zagreb Radio]* 33
President Tudjman News Conference 27 Aug *[Zagreb Radio]* 33
Three Mortar Shells Launched on Skradin *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
'Serious Fighting' Continues in Eastern Croatia *[Budapest Radio]* 34
Hrastovica Attacked; Sunja Transformer Knocked Out *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
'Violent Fighting' Reportedly Begins in Vukovar *[Belgrade Radio]* 35
Seven Tanks Attack Vukovar *[Zagreb Radio]* 35
Relative Quiet Reported in 'Crisis Areas' *[TANJUG]* 35
Radio Reports on 'Decisive Battle' for Vukovar *[Belgrade Radio]* 35
Croatian TV Crew Fired On; Two Wounded *[Zagreb Radio]* 35
Roundup on Osijek Area Fighting *[TANJUG]* 36
Croatian Troops Withdraw From Kijevo, Vrlika *[TANJUG]* 36
Croatian Paper Assails YPA as 'Aggressor' *[TANJUG]* 37
Number of Wounded in Vukovar Reaches 83 *[Zagreb Radio]* 37
Navy Denies Initiating Dalmation Armed Conflicts *[TANJUG]* 37
POLITIKA Office in Zagreb Attacked 27 Aug *[TANJUG]* 37
Tanks, Infantry, Air Force in Vukovar Attack *[Belgrade Radio]* 38

Serbia

More Violence Reported in Kosovo Town of Decani *[BUJKU 23 Aug]* 38
Foreign Minister Jovanovic Criticizes Germany
[Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG 28 Aug] 39
Kostic on Situation of Serbs in Croatia *[TANJUG]* 40
Jovanovic on Croat Responsibility For War *[Cologne Radio]* 40
Jovanovic Accuses Croatia of Igniting Situation *[Berlin ADN]* 41

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Leaders Demand Ban on Bosnian Army Conscription *[TANJUG]* 41
Bosnian Croat Leader Promises To Aid Croatia *[Belgrade Radio]* 42
Government 'Warned' of Unconstitutional Conduct *[Sarajevo Radio]* 42
Soldiers' Parents Present Demands to Assembly *[Sarajevo Radio]* 42
Parents' Protest Continues *[Zagreb Radio]* 43

Macedonia

Macedonian Education Minister Dimitrov Resigns *[TANJUG]* 43
Assembly Endorses Text of Draft Constitution *[Skopje Radio]* 43
Talks Held With Albanians; Cooperation Discussed *[Skopje Radio]* 44

Foreign Ministry Recognizes Baltic Republics

AU2708161391 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1600 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Foreign Ministry statement issued in Tirana on 27 August]

[Text] The Republic of Albania, closely watching the democratic processes in the Soviet Union, welcomes and recognizes the declarations of independence by the Baltic republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. It considers these declarations as expressions of the realization of the national aspirations of the peoples of these republics, on the basis of the principle of self- determination.

Diplomatic Relations With South Korea Established

AU2708164391 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1600 GMT 27 Aug 91

["Joint Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the Republic of Albania and the Republic of Korea;" date and place not given]

[Text] After talks conducted between representatives of the two countries, and on the basis of a desire to develop relations and mutually beneficial cooperation, the Republic of Albania and the Republic of Korea have agreed to establish diplomatic relations at an ambassadorial level.

The two countries will encourage and develop relations in the economic, technical, scientific, and cultural fields.

Construction Minister Mysliu Leaves for Libya

AU2708164591 Tirna Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1600 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] A delegation headed by Construction Minister Emin Mysliu has left for the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah at the invitation of the Libyan Government, and will attend a ceremony inaugurating a large irrigation project.

Bufi Receives Exarch of Constantinople Patriarchate

AU2708133591 Tirana ATA in English 0826 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 27 (ATA)—On August 26, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Ylli Bufi, received in its seat the exarch of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, His Holiness Anastas Janulatas [name as received], who was accompanied by the general secretary of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Albania, Aleko Dhima.

The Premier Ylli Bufi acquainted his holiness with the process of democratization of the life in our country and concentrated on the numerous difficulties and the efforts of the Government of the Stability to overcome them with success. He laid the stress on the important aid that religion in general and the Autocephalous Orthodox Church in particular can and should make to this process of transformation of our society. He assured the exarch of the Patriarchate of Constantinople of the support of the government for the normal functioning of the religious activity of this church.

On his part, His Holiness Anastas Janulatas thanked the premier for the reception extended to him and his readiness for the well functioning of the church he represents. He said that the activity of the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church will contribute to and play an important positive role in the process of democratization of the country's life. The patriarch of Constantinople said he was ready to render a concrete aid not only for the reorganization of the Orthodox religious institutions but also to contribute financially to the promotion of the economic reform of our country.

The talks were conducted in a spirit of understanding.

Party Leaders on 'Crisis of Confidence'

AU2708124391 Tirana DRITA in Albanian 11 Aug 91 pp 1-2

[Statements by Democratic Party Chairman Sali Berisha, Social Democratic Party Chairman Skender Gjinushi, Republican Party Deputy Chairman Vangjush Gambeta, and Socialist Party Presidium Member Ethem Ruka; place and date not given: "Recent Events: Causes and Symptoms—Views of Four Party Leaders"]

[Text] We turned to representatives of four political parties in this problematic time through which we are living, with its painful events of which there is no end, the general crisis of confidence, the headlong collapse of the economy to the point of utter destitution, repeated scenes of chaos, people's disillusionment and despair, universal absenteeism from work, and the inability or incompetence of the forces of order in dealing with these acute problems that demand an immediate response. We publish below their views on these issues that so preoccupy our people.

Professor Dr. Sali Berisha, chairman of the Democratic Party Managing Committee

Bolshevism was one of the most serious kinds of occupation in the history of the peoples, and impoverished them and exhausted them in every way, unfortunately also spiritually. However, for me the spirit of man and of a people goes back thousands of years, and I am therefore optimistic and utterly convinced that the Albanians' age-old traditions will unfold again under the new democratic conditions. Until now, people have been spiritually repressed by the great fear of persecution. This fear shackled, burdened, and devastated them. Such a situation also sapped their ability to realistically analyze the present and the future. Nevertheless, I believe the overwhelming majority of people have preserved their common sense. They will find the strength to grasp the enormous difficulties posed by the transition from a savage totalitarian system to a truly democratic society, in which free labor will make people incomparably happier than slave labor. I am fully convinced that we, who sacrificed 45 years for nothing and as a reward are suffering

the dire crisis we are all living through today, will be able to make sacrifices for democracy, from which we will profit not only in one but in a hundred ways.

As for the acts of violence that certainly have been increasing recently, I think that they have been encouraged and devised by an underground organization, by elements in the Sigurimi, Enverists, and enemies of democracy, who are trying to prove to people through criminal acts that dictatorship, which was a comprehensive crime, was better than the democracy in which we are now living and always will.

Democracy must be understood in two principle senses. First, it is a matter of legislation, and in this sense we should achieve it soon. Second, it is a state of mind, which takes some time to be formed. However, the struggle for an ideal is sacred, and we will therefore struggle.

I feel the exodus to have been a truly national disaster. I am sure that its real causes were the misery and absolute poverty that prevail everywhere in Albania today and that were created by the dictatorial policies of the Albanian Workers Party and its corrupt leadership. However, I am also convinced that the weird and fatal scenario of the exodus was carefully devised by anti-Albanian and antidemocratic forces in the ranks of the Sigurimi and the old regime, whose knell has tolled. They sought to achieve many goals through this fatal scenario. First, they sought revenge, and, their tyranny having fallen, they sought to destroy the Albanian people's integrity. They wanted to prove to them that they were happier under their own dictatorship than they are today. They are trying to hamper the development of democratic processes, to debilitate the nation, and, because they themselves are in their death-throes, to bring down the nation with them. It is obvious to everyone that this scenario is brought into play whenever it suits this nation's eternal enemy—the Serbs. However, I wish to stress that all those who fled were in general innocent victims of the misery caused by the totalitarian socialist system. After the class struggle, the scenario of the exodus, which is taking away hundreds and thousands of children, young people, mothers, and fathers, is the most criminal act that the forces of the old regime have perpetrated against this nation and country.

I nevertheless remain optimistic and I am sure that our people, however exhausted they may be, will not surrender. Our sons and daughters are indeed leaving Albania today, but they will return to their mother tomorrow and the day after, and will contribute in many ways to Albania's progress, while history will condemn for eternity the perpetrators of this foul crime.

Professor Dr. Skender Gjinushi, chairman of the Social Democratic Party Managing Committee

Albania is living through a crisis of confidence or a crisis of impatience for a better life. There are specific reasons for this. Our people have longed and striven to join the ranks of the most emancipated and developed peoples. However, the opposite unfortunately has happened. They were forced to live under the Ottomans and the Slavs. Thus, they have always dreamed of and longed for a free and happy life with the most advanced living standards. They fought for years with maturity, determination, and courage against dictatorships of all kinds, including the Enverist one, a struggle that culminated just before the elections, when there were great hopes and also plenty of promises. Disillusionment followed the election results and these promises. However, the essence of what was promised has now been achieved. In what sense? Europe was promised. We are now equal partners in Europe, and have a guarantee that we will be like Europe politically and ideologically, in our legislation, and in the long term also economically. It is the last factor, the sick state of the economy, that has caused impatience and the crisis of confidence. However, the prospects are clear. We joined the East in 1944, and reached its economic level, that of crisis. We have now opened up toward the West and the whole of Europe, and will become like Europe whether we want to or not. It is only a matter of time. These are the difficulties of a transition period. Our task is therefore to make the people aware of these temporary difficulties in our lives, the last of such a serious kind. We also have the task of learning how to pass through this period as "easily" as possible. There are two main ways of doing this: first, stabilizing the countryside as soon as possible, so that agriculture will be able to meet the country's needs next year; and second, securing aid and credit for staple foodstuffs this year and to lay the foundations for privatization through intensive investment in certain sectors, mainly tourism, infrastructure, construction materials, and the like. The public peace, in a physical and material sense, is currently an acute problem. This requires support for the forces of order and their reorganization, just as it calls for the creation of police forces to combat crime, terrorism, drugs, and prostitution. The police should not be considered antidemocratic. However, the police must be shaken up and injected with new blood, because one notices incompetence and a kind of silent sabotage, as evident in the recent extremely painful events in Durres and Vlore. These events also urge changes, and make one ask why they happened, why they were permitted, and why people have been so tortured and humiliated. Was it incompetence, or was something behind it? Finally, it is important to prepare the ground as well as possible with precise and fair laws for the new elections. The successful conclusion of them, and the involvement of our economy in international institutions, are guarantees for the kind of future we seek.

Vangjush Gambeta, deputy chairman of the Republican Party Managing Committee

Many events in the history of mankind teach us that profound social changes are inevitably accompanied by spiritual crises. There is no way that this could be avoided in our case, now that we are experiencing a truly democratic revolution.

For decades on end, we were forced to open a wedding by raising the first toast, "To the party and Comrade Enver." For years on end, the expression of condolence, "Stay well yourself," often met the reply, "May the party and Comrade Enver keep us well." The purpose of this

inhuman and crazy psychological processing was to create a robotized "new man." Only a robot acting according to the Enverist program dictated by the "legendary leader" could blindly serve this personal dictatorship, the dictatorship built by that "architect" of destruction Enver Hoxha, whose equal in savagery would be hard to find in the history of mankind.

The spiritual crisis through which we are now living was not born in this democratic process. It dates back half a century. It arose as a form of silent resistance to the first injustices and crimes committed by Enver Hoxha and his comrades. It grew, spreading among the entire people as the most bitter fruit of the dictatorship, alongside the geometric progression of the injustices that caused massacres among the whole people. On the threshold of this process of democratization, it reached a critical point and erupted! Its eruption was glorious, and was part of the struggle to bring down the dictatorship and to ensure the triumph of democracy.

However, every movement that involves the entire people and every revolution has its own mistakes and aberrations, that sow weeds: violence and insecurity, lack of confidence to the point of despair, and now the worst—the mass exodus.

I think that all these are temporary phenomena. The violence and insecurity is encouraged by dark and even evil forces that are nothing but vestiges (though still dangerous) of the dictatorship, Enverists who wish to cultivate the idea that democracy brought these ills. What about the forces of order? We must in all honesty admit that these forces are not coping with the situation because their ranks still include dangerous throwbacks to the past, who at 0800 spread the news that the port will be opened at 1000. Then the port really does open at 1000. If this has not been proved, there is nothing else to do but to admit the incompetence, not of the policemen and soldiers who act on orders, but those who give the orders, whether ministers or high-level commanders. It is they who are responsible.

Distrust and insecurity are the consequences of this tragedy that we are experiencing. I do not in any way share these feelings. I have total confidence in the future, as long as we possess fertile soil, which is the mother of prosperity, and labor, which is its father. Despair takes root in the coward or the fool. The Archimedes' levers are determination for a better future and an openness to every good action that helps the nation.

But for how long? How can time be gained? The National Stability Government is making efforts to improve the economy. Unfortunately, there has so far been a lot of talk about the signing of agreements for credit and investment, and there have been plenty of delegations, but on which building site has work started?

How can time be gained? Let us bring forward the election date to before the end of this year. No serious capitalist trusts a parliament that is in fact monist.

Ethem Ruka, member of the Socialist Party Presidium

Albania finds itself at a transition point between monism and pluralism, between the centralized economy and a free market economy, between "cloned" men and men of independent and free thinking. It is on the psychological border between its flirtations with the East and becoming an honored European country, on the border between the adulation of idols and disillusionment. In only a few months, this generation of the people has seen four successive governments: Carcani's government, Nano's provisional government, the socialist government headed again by Nano, and now Bufi's National Stability Government. Everything was shaken to its foundations within only a few months. We have seen things that were inconceivable before: the mass exodus, rallies and counterrallies, pluralist elections in a tense psychological atmosphere, the first pluralist parliament, a wide diversity of views in the press, increasingly clear stands on the national question, confusion in the bureaucratic apparatus, eagerness to exploit the situation for profit, unprecedented strikes in the towns, the uncontrolled destruction of the cooperatives, impatience to reach Europe, all- around efforts to establish the rule of law, and so many other things. We still cannot find our feet between democracy and anarchy.

Not everybody experiences this atmosphere of profound change in the same way. There are those in front, who look far ahead, just as there are others whose vision is clouded and who feel "caught" in the net of past mistakes. Seen from this angle, the spiritual crisis is a real one.

This crisis produces new phenomena that are shaking our society even more. The upheaval extends to lack of physical safety on the streets and in public and private places. According to the latest whispers, left-wing and right-wing extremism have joined on a single front. There are plenty of elements who speculate with the country's present situation and steal without turning a hair. Others fire guns or use cold steel with astounding cold-bloodedness. Others think nothing of looting and arson. Prostitution and drug addiction, once considered remote, have become topics of the day. Banditry must be combated before it is too late and while it is still unorganized.

People look on and remain silent. Nobody testifies. People are too afraid and insecure to seek the protection of the forces of order and the organs of justice. People rightly ask, for how long? Are the forces of order able to cope with such a burden at a time when they themselves are in the process of democratic change and reorganization? This was best shown by the most recent exodus, which was a sign of a deepening crisis of confidence in the economy. It seems that no political force, whether in power or not, is able to close this running sore which, instead of healing, is time and again reopened by some diabolical hand. Faced with this situation, there is no need for fatalism, just as there must be no illusions that this phenomenon will vanish tomorrow.

Setting in motion the new pluralist local authorities in order to enforce the laws approved by the parliament will restrict the scope for such things. The forces of order and the organs of justice must perform a radical turnabout, acting fast and effectively against all lawbreakers. However, even this will not be enough. The political forces committed to social peace within the framework of the National Stability Government have every opportunity to expose and dissociate themselves from everything that is evil or promises evil, and every opportunity to support the work of the forces of order and the organs of justice.

The Socialist Party, as an important alternative on the road of democracy, through its program and the performance of this program, sees that the present has its difficulties, but does not lack optimism for the future. The crisis of confidence is transitory, and all nations who have sooner or later taken the road of democracy have shown this. We must try to overcome it as painlessly as possible. Major political, moral, and spiritual upheavals cannot fail to be accompanied by a deep crisis of confidence. The introduction of free labor and people's imminent return to their work create a real opportunity to strike a balance between political and economic freedoms, and this will be the way to restore lost confidence.

Motherland Political Association Approved

AU2708164791 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1600 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] The minister of justice approved today, on 27 August, the application of the initiating committee for the creation of the Motherland Political Association [Shoqata Politike Memedheu], having observed that its program, statute, and other documents are in conformity with the main constitutional dispositions and meet the requirements of the Law on Political Parties.

This approval, which was handed over to the association's initiating committee, comes into effect immediately. The chairman of the initiating committee for the creation of the Motherland Association is Faik Pajolli.

BASHKIMI Deplores Declining Army Discipline

AU2708065591 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 16 Aug 91 p 1

[Article by Artur Vrekaj, soldier: "The People Do Not Want a Degenerate Army"]

[Text] Military personnel, too, are living and working heart and soul alongside the rapid processes of democratization. A more proper and becoming life-style would make more attractive and lend respect to the honored profession of officer. Military personnel share all the concerns the country is experiencing, and are giving their unhesitating help to ensure that these open wounds do not become "septic." However, many disturbing problems have arisen in the Army. The most sensitive is the mass absenteeism of soldiers. Hundreds of soldiers have now abandoned their military service without permission. This is something that is happening in our Army for the first time. Before this "new" phenomenon appeared, being absent from your unit without permission was called desertion, and was rightly treated as such. The emphasis was on the enforcement of the law, and on the law above everything. It is different now. In many units, a source of infection has appeared which, encouraged by factors that either directly or indirectly influence the Army too, has brought a lot of worries. There can be no more talk today of iron discipline, on which soldiers used to be submitted to so many hours of political instruction. Theorizing and politicizing cannot enforce discipline.

Besides unauthorized absenteeism, there are also cases in which guard duty is abandoned and orders are refused. Soldiers' personal appearance has become untidy, and one even frequently sees soldiers wearing civilian clothes.

One sees soldiers everywhere in Tirana, even behind counters as private traders, or trying their luck at "spin-the-clock" alongside ordinary citizens!

Many soldiers have still not reported to their units after one or two months. Army units still employ the formal procedure of reporting absent soldiers first to the division and then to the Ministry of People's Defense. Thousands of telegrams, one after another, have been dispatched to district military authorities or to families. The old practice of sending cadres to the districts to fetch missing soldiers persists. Military service is compulsory in Albania. Why do commanders therefore continue to use outmoded, bureaucratic practices that merely make their mistakes in their work worse?

Supervisors in the Ministry of People's Defense do not sit easy in their armchairs. Senior staff in the divisions are shocked at hearing about some sort of reorganization, and those in units wait for what those "above" will say. However, why do the families of these soldiers who have abandoned their posts close their eyes to the problems and extend a welcoming hand to their sons who come home illegally? Does this not conflict with an Albanian's patriotism?

The status of military personnel has now been defined and approved. Will we be able to return to work and allay these concerns, which indicate slackness in the Army, or must we wait until military ranks are reintroduced to call our subordinates to account?

The difficulties in normalizing the situation show that bureaucracy has sunk deep roots in the Army too, from units to the ministry.

Association of Former Political Prisoners Formed

AU2608174191 Tirana ATA in English 0806 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 26 (ATA)—The newspaper "REPUBLIKA" reports that the minister of justice, Dr.

Shefqet Muci, on August 15, 1991 ordered the adoption of the Humanitarian Sociopolitical Association of the Former Political Prisoners, Internees, Expelled and Persecuted of Albania.

PSSh Worried About Opposition Statement

AU2608154891 Tirana ATA in English 0801 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 26 (ATA)—The newspaper "REPUBLIKA" reports that at the request of the Socialist Party a meeting was organised at the central seat of the Republican Party between the representatives of the Socialist Party and those of the Republican Party.

The representatives of the Socialist Party treated of their worry regarding the joint statement worked out by the Democratic, Republican and Social Democratic Parties. [sentence as received]

After speaking of this statement, Sabri Godo, chairman of the Republican Party asked the Socialist Party to adopt its requests in order to give the people the chance to believe in its renovation. Fatos Nano, chairman of the Socialist Party, among others, underscored that they agree that in order to be more democratic and more efficient, the parliament should have even other political forces in its composition. At the same time he underscored that the maintenance of tranquility seeks greater commitment by all the political parties.

The representatives of these two parties agreed to hold other meetings.

Cooperativist Union Demands Help for Agriculture

AU2608194591 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Alblanian 1800 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] A declaration issued by the Organizing Committee of the Cooperativist Union of Albania [Bashkimi Kooperativist i Shqiperise, BKSh] points out that this organization supports the interests and rights of all working people in the countryside, and favors national unity, the country's stability, and the advancement of democracy.

The main cause of the crisis of confidence in the country is the undeclared electoral power struggle among the political forces, including demands to bring forward the parliamentary election date, and an anticonstitutional propaganda campaign against the president of the republic. This struggle, waged beyond all ethical and legal limits, is upsetting people psychologically, sowing distrust in the future, and creating an image of political instability. This discourages foreign investment and brings the danger of the imposition of a savage dictatorship.

We condemn this struggle the declaration continues. We condemn all declarations issued by coalitions with peremptory demands and pseudodemocratic slogans that destabilize the situation and undermine public order and the National Stability Government. The struggle among political forces is destabilizing the countryside especially, and the degradation of the cooperatives and the endless curses pronounced over them have encouraged the destruction of investments, crops, sociocultural facilities, etc. [Words indistinct] (?and exoduses) are directly encouraging this destruction of the fruits of the peasantry's toil, sweat, and blood. We strongly condemn those responsible for this serious crime. It was not the cooperatives in themselves that were the causes of the evils in agriculture, but the state's imposition of uneconomic policies. The elimination of these policies will enable organizationally modified cooperatives to be very profitable for their members, as the example of Verlac near Gjirokaster and other villages shows. In order to enable individual families in the villages to enter into free competition under the conditions of the market economy, the declaration continues, we recommend that the existing cooperatives, wherever their members wish, should use more effective, varied, and up-to-date forms of agricultural cooperation. The world provides many such examples, from the Netherlands, France, Turkey, Greece, and elsewhere, and even from Japan and Israel, where there are very powerful and rich cooperatives.

The peasantry's difficulties have increased following the dissolution of the cooperatives and the enforcement of the Land Law. In order to overcome them, the BKSh demands that the state should introduce immediate social assistance for peasant families without incomes and especially for agricultural specialists, grant credit to families that are unable to secure bread, give agricultural equipment and fertilizers to families free or on long-term credit, not impose taxes for a certain period, and subsidize agricultural and dairy products with low profit margins, etc.

We do not consider these demands to be favors shown by the state and society to the countryside, but the payment of a debt they owe to the peasantry.

Independent Trade Unions' 12 Demands

AU2608190591 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] A declaration issued by the Union of Independent Albanian Trade Unions [BSPSh] points out that this organization, after submitting the following demands for discussion among all the organization's trade unions on 16 August and receiving their approval, concludes that it is determined to uncompromisingly struggle to defend working people's rights and interests. It has continually informed the government of many demands that have arisen among the trade unions that are members of the BSPSh.

We consider fulfilling the following demands as soon as possible will strengthen the country's economic and political stability. The BSPSh's demands are:

1. All residents of the leadership compound and their lackeys must be brought before the courts immediately and must give an account of their malpractices, thefts, and abuses at the people's expense.

2. The administration at all levels, in ministries and enterprises, must be reduced and renewed in cooperation with the trade unions.

3. All managers appointed by the organs of monist rule must be replaced, especially those who have pursued personal policies in their work, are without the necessary professional abilities, and have abused their positions.

4. Public order must be established immediately, with the thorough renewal the leading officials of the organs of public order, especially those discredited as tools of the totalitarian regime.

5. The Law on Social Assistance must be revised according to the BSPSh's observations.

6. The trade unions must be recognized as a participating party in the process of privatization and the creation of joint enterprises with foreign firms,

7. The wealth of the Trade Unions [Bashkime Profesionale] must be frozen immediately.

8. The specific demands raised by the BSPSh during the general strike must be carefully studied, and the relevant agreements must be drawn up among the parties concerned.

9. Effective measures must be taken to combat the black market, and approximate prices must be established for the private market.

10. Laws must be approved as soon as possible on the status of the trade unions and on collective labor contracts.

11. The date of the start of the trial over the Shkoder events must be announced to the public, and specialists from Europe and America must be invited to the trial.

12. Party organizations must be abolished immediately in enterprises and institutions, and their finance suspended.

The BSPSh hopes that the government will meet these 12 demands by 15 September. It will fight to the end for their fulfillment, using all democratic means, including the final resort of a strike.

Government Decision on Miners Strike Published

AU2808095791 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 22 Aug 91 p 3

["Decision No. 267 of the Council of Ministers on Certain Immediate Measures Taken by the Government in Connection with the Strike in the Ore-and Coal-Mining Industry Branch;" date not given]

[Text] The Council of Ministers decided as follows:

1. The leaderships of the employer enterprises should immediately initiate legal actions, in accordance with the relevant procedure, to establish the legality of the strikes on the basis of Article 17 of the Law on Settling Collective Labor Disputes.

2. In the event of it being established that the strikes are illegal, the employers should make the participants in these strikes assume disciplinary and property responsibility for their actions.

3. The payment of wages and salaries to participants in effective strikes is be suspended during their participation in the strikes, on the basis of Article 18, Paragraph 1 of the Law on Settling Collective Labor Disputes.

4. The minister of industry, trade, and services and the chairman of the Committee on Power Supply are to initiate disciplinary actions, including dismissal on disciplinary grounds, against all economic managers of the ore- and coal-mining industry branch who took part in the strikes.

5. The Ministry of Industry, Trade, and Services, the Committee on Power Supply, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the leaderships of the employer enterprises are to guarantee conditions for workers not participating in the strikes to continue their work.

6. The leaderships of the employer enterprises are to identify those workers who did not participate in the strikes but were unable to fulfill their labor obligations because of strikes by other workers. Such workers are to be paid wages under the terms of Article 18, Paragraph 5 of the Law on Settling Collective Labor Disputes (idle time for which the worker is not to blame).

7. The Council of Ministers halts the examination of the debts of state companies in the branch to the banks and the possibilities of reaching an arrangement on the credits owed and the interest due thereon, as specified in Council of Ministers Decree No. 136 of 12 July 1991.

8. The Council of Ministers suspends the granting of funds from the state budget to companies in the branch in which production and economic activities have been interrupted because of strike actions.

9. Companies and other organizations that benefited from temporary financial aid from the budget in previous years are to pay back the amount owed for 1991 by 1 September 1991.

10. The Ministry of Industry, Trade, and Services, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, Ministry of Health, and the Committee for Power Supply are to submit a proposal to the Council of Ministers within one month on declining activities that have no future and on companies in the branch in which working conditions do not conform to health care norms.

11. The Council of Ministers proposes to the Bulgarian National Bank that it should define by 1 September 1991 regulations, procedures, and sanctions relating to payments and settlements between companies.

12. The Council of Ministers relieves Professor Lyudmil Genov, chairman of the Committee on Power Supply, from his post.

13. This decision is issued on the basis of Article 106 of the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria and the Law on Settling Collective Labor Disputes.

Reportage on Visit of Israel's Shamir

Popov on Ending PLO 'Cooperation'

TA2808050491 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English 0400 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Bulgaria has decided to end its cooperation with the PLO and strengthen ties with Israel. Bulgaria's Prime Minister Dimitur Popov informed Prime Minister Shamir of the decision at their meeting in Sofia yesterday. Our reporter accompanying the prime minister, Arye Golan, says Shamir invited Popov to Israel, and the latter responded positively.

Shamir on Trade Position

AU2808071891 Sofia BTA in English 2028 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 27 (BTA)—Bulgaria and Israel share a desire to promote their political, commercial and cultural ties, at the official talks which the head of the Bulgarian Government Mr. Dimitur Popov and Israeli Prime Minister Mr. Yitzhaq Shamir opened today, it was emphasized that Bulgaria will be assigned a priority in Israel's foreign economic relations.

A good beginning has been set for cooperation in transport, and health care. More active contacts in tourism, agriculture and finances can be expected soon. The Israeli prime minister believes that the flow of Israeli tourists can rise from the current 3,000 a year to 100,000.

The guest assured Mr. Popov that Bulgaria can count on Israel's support in the international financial institutions. Israel is opening a three million dollar line of credit for Bulgaria.

Negotiations are under way on the signing of agreements on the avoidance of double taxation and investment protection. An agreement on sea transport is being drafted.

The sides considered the formation of a steering committee for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the saving of Bulgarian Jews from the holocaust. The two countries will open cultural centres in each other's capitals.

Considering matters of dual nationality, the sides called attention to the need to settle the property problems of the Jews who have emigrated from Bulgaria.

Mr. Shamir outlined the situation in the Middle East, comparing it to a certain extent with the situation in the Balkans. He drew an analogy with the developments in Yugoslavia.

Basically, Israel seeks peace through bilateral direct talks with the neighbouring countries without preconditions. Israel accepts the idea of a peace conference under the auspices of the United States and the USSR. According to the guest, because of the situation in the Soviet Union Israel would like to wait and see whether Moscow can assume its guarantees.

Mr. Popov reaffirmed the Bulgarian position on the Middle East. He said that the new conditions in the world open a historic opportunity for a comprehensive, peaceful and just settlement of the conflict. Peace can be durable and fair if based on a sensible balance of interests of all parties concerned and on a mutually acceptable compromise.

The Bulgarian prime minister gave a formal dinner for Mr. Yitzhaq Shamir.

Shamir on Cooperation

AU2808102291 Sofia BTA in English 0905 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Report by Ognyan Branichev]

[Text] Sofia, August 28—Mr. Yitzhaq Shamir today expressed profound gratitude to the Bulgarian people for the rescue of Bulgarian Jews from the holocaust. On the second day of his visit here, the Israeli prime minister told a news conference he is optimistic about the future of Bulgaria. The guest sees broad opportunities for the progress of Israeli-Bulgarian cooperation. What has been achieved so far is just a good beginning, he went on to say.

Mr. Shamir declined to assess the progress of the economic reform in this country. "Bulgaria is in a run-up to elections and I don't think I should intervene in the campaign process," he said. Still, he expressed the opinion that this country is advancing towards full democratization and market economy, something which Israel supports.

The Israeli head of government confirmed the possibilities for interaction in the tourist industry, transport, health care, the chemical industry and farming. The sides are discussing ideas of cooperation in military production.

Territorial matters are not fundamental to the Middle East peace process, Mr. Shamir believes. What matters most for the achievement of peace in that part of the world is the manifestation of good will by the parties involved in the conflict and finding a modus of coexistence.

Shamir on 'New Stage' in Relations

AU2808102891 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Report by Galina Khristova, in Khorizont studio, on news conference given by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir in Sofia on 28 August]

[Text] At the moment Israeli Prime Minister Shamir is holding talks in the National Assembly with representatives of the political forces. This morning he held a meeting with journalists at the Boyana Residence, where he is staying.

At the meeting Mr. Shamir spoke about the directions for developing bilateral relations and the Israeli position on the Middle East process. The journalists' questions were mainly connected with the details of the cooperation between Bulgaria and Israel, as well as with certain details regarding the Middle East peace conference to be held in the fall.

I am sure that much will be said about all this later, and that we will also see the fruits of this visit. However, I would like now to quote excerpts from the prime minister's introductory words this morning, because I believe they provide a framework defining the Israeli position toward Bulgaria and the foundation for building up our relations.

[Shamir recording in English, fading into Bulgarian translation Khristova] We have already conducted very friendly and productive talks with Prime Minister Dimitur Popov and members of his cabinet, the Israeli guest said. These talks demonstrated considerable progress in reestablishing cooperation between Bulgaria and Israel in various fields. According to Mr. Shamir's words, one is speaking of a new stage in Bulgarian-Israeli relations, one in which they will acquire a special character.

The Israeli prime minister did not omit to express gratitude to the Bulgarian people for their humanitarian and moral aid to the Jewish community in Bulgaria during the years of World War II.

So then, what are we to expect from Bulgarian-Israeli relations?

[Brief Shamir recording in English, fading into Bulgarian] Together we hope that we are now entering a

period that will bring most stability and peace, that will create a possibility for our two peoples to achieve economic development and social advance, Mr. Shamir said.

I will end by reporting that Prime Minister Dimitur Popov was invited to make an official visit to Israel, and that the invitation was accepted.

Defense Ministry Denies Army Alert on SFRY Border

AU2808105491 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Mention has already been made of a link between the Yugoslav crisis and a certain run-of-the-mill threat on Bulgaria's part. Major General Mitre Arsovski [name as heard] raised his voice at a news conference held in Skopje. According to him, the increased combat readiness of the Bulgarian Army made it necessary for the Yugoslav Army to strengthen the measures taken to secure its border.

We contacted the Ministry of Defense to find out if our Army is indeed at a level of increased readiness—yet another one of the attacks that are regularly made. This time Colonel Milcho Milev, a military expert, will make a statement.

[Begin Milchev recording] The western border of the Republic of Bulgaria is guarded by the border units, which are fulfilling their duties of border defense and protection. We have no forces or equipment of the Bulgarian Army that have been placed in a state of increased combat readiness.

The Army units are carrying on their separate service life in the barracks, are servicing their equipment and preparing for the winter, and are also preparing to celebrate (?the holidays). [end recording]

Vice President Semerdzhiev Receives PASOK Delegation

AU2608183491 Sofia BTA in English 1744 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 26 (BTA)—Bulgaria's Vice President Mr. Atanas Semerdzhiev today discussed a wide range of question concerning Bulgaro-Greek relations and the international situation with a delegation of the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK).

Mr. Semerdzhiev and the head of the Greek delegation Mr. Apostolos Tsohatzopoulos, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of PASOK, declared themselves in favour of wider bilateral contacts. The hosts reiterated Bulgaria's desire for speedier integration with the European institutions. The guests supported this aspiration.

Discussing the situation in the Balkans, the sides voiced a shared concern over developments in Yugoslavia, reaffirmed the peoples' rights to self-determination and stressed the need to seek peaceful means for the settlement of disputes.

The sides commented on the excessive build-up of Turkish forces in Eastern Thrace and raised the question as to how this fact should be interpreted in the context of Turkey's declarations that it poses no threat to its neighbours.

Vice President Semerdzhiev reaffirmed Bulgaria's position on the attempted coup in the Soviet Union and the subsequent events.

Government To Import Grain To Replenish Reserves

AU2708081691 Sofia BTA in English 2028 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 26 (BTA)—The state reserves of corn will be filled up through import, it was announced after the meeting of the government today. Minister Spirov told the press that the situation with the purchase of wheat for bread is alarming. The purchased wheat has not yet reached one million tonnes, while the state reserve requires 2.5 million tonnes. 94 per cent of the crop has already been harvested. There is some information that over five million tonnes of corn have not been delivered to the purchasers.

Army Daily Urges Rejection of USSR Army Experience

AU2608172691 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 22 Aug 91 p 1

[Lt. Col. Ivan Sotirov's article: "Let Us Learn From the Soviet Army's Experience"]

[Text] If nothing else, the military coup in Moscow will at least make us seriously and critically reexamine our attitude toward certain rather obsolete slogans that nevertheless have not lost their topical character. For many years we learned from the experience of the Soviet Army, which we called invincible and legendary, and tried to apply the same rules in our country, despite the fact that our conditions were completely unsuitable for this. By this we do not mean issues of tactics, tested under combat conditions, or the use of Soviet weapons, but rather the ideological efforts to internationalize the Bulgarian Army by obliterating it. The Soviet Army hardly could be blamed for this, because the efforts were implemented on our side. In addition, it was much easier to translate Russian instructions, charters, or methods, instead of composing new ones, and take into consideration the specific conditions, historical traditions, and national characteristics, and only then apply the foreign experience.

The changes that took place in recent years in our country sounded almost like "about face!" also for the Army, thus many officers and generals averted their eyes

from the East and turned them to the West. There would be nothing wrong if this time we were to try to analyze what we see and borrow only what is suitable and necessary.

However, I think that the slogan "Let Us Learn From the Experience of the Soviet Army!" is the most topical factor. Today this slogan is important not so much for the military as for the opposing political forces in our country, which should broadly open their minds to perceive the meaning of this slogan.

A part of the Soviet Army was dragged by force into domestic political life, and this could by no means lead toward tranquillity, security, and order. On the contrary, if the tanks do not remain in the military camps but rather roll through the streets and in the cities it will be impossible to prevent clashes and bloodshed.

This is precisely the moment at which the political forces must profoundly study the experience of the Soviet Army accumulated in recent days and categorically reject it as fully unsuitable for our conditions. This is so because in addition to everything else the Bulgarian Army today is completely different from the Soviet Army. It is no longer the Army of one party or a single political force, but rather an Army that belongs to all people. Despite the fact that this statement resembles a flowery sentence rather than an obvious truth, the practice of the peaceful transition toward democratic society in our country is a proof of its correctness.

I know that the transition toward the new society will be painful, difficult, and long. I assume that there will be numerous and sharp clashes between the political forces, the trade unions, and the government on old and new unresolved issues. However, all this will be normal and necessary to overcome our delusions and march on our part of the road toward the future, which now we call democracy. This democracy will remain a dream if someone thinks even for a moment that tanks could be used to reach the goal faster or more slowly. Democracy is attainable only if the Army remains in the military camps and perfects its combat skills to be able to defend the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Let us also learn in the future from the experience of the Soviet Army. However, let us remember that there is a certain experience that must be studied in a most profound manner to prevent its application.

Military Union Spokesman on USSR-Type Coup

AU2708192191 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Dimitur Pavlov, spokesman for the Military Union, assumes that President Zhelyu Zhelev's aides could support a possible illegal development of events in Bulgaria.

At a private news conference he gave today he warned that in case of an illness on the part of President Zhelev, his aides could follow the example of the participants in the Kremlin coup.

Pavlov pointed out that a coup similar to the one in Moscow is possible because there are some high-ranking nomenklatura cadres among Zhelev's aides. He mentioned specific names and pointed out that Major General Kamen (?Petrov), secretary of the National Security Council, is Todor Zhivkov's relative, while Lieutenant General Stoyan Andreev, adviser to the president on national security issues, is a protege of [name indistinct].

Mutafchiev Outlines Defense Priorities on Radio

AU2708194791 Sofia BTA in English 1821 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 27 (BTA)—Today Bulgaria must decide the problems of its national security on its own, Army General Yordan Mutafchiev, minister of defence, said on the Bulgarian Radio. This has not been the case for many years, he added.

Bulgaria should seek new security guarantees in its own military potential and in some foreign factors, according to the general. He said that the military potential, based on defence sufficiency, should guarantee the sovereignty of this country till the necessary international guarantees are provided.

The defence minister is for cooperation with the European institutions, including with NATO. He declared himself for promoting bilateral contacts with the neighbouring countries, with the former Warsaw Treaty member states and with the Western countries.

The new Bulgarian-Soviet treaty will not include military clauses, the defence minister said. However, it will include some provisions concerning the maintenance of the weapons and machinery of the Bulgarian Army which are Soviet-made.

Is Bulgaria threatened now? According to the general, the latest events in the Soviet Union pose no threat to Bulgaria. No changes are necessary in her military doctrine.

General Mutafchiev regards the events in Yugoslavia as an internal state problem. He declared Bulgaria's devotion to the use of political means in solving contradictory issues in conditions of strict observation of state sovereignty.

General Mutafchiev confirmed Bulgaria's support for the idea launched by Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis for establishing a demilitarized zone along the borders between Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey. The defence minister sees some difficulties on the road to its realization but believes that it is realistic.

The problems around this proposal stem mainly from Turkey's stand, the general believes. Its realization

would presuppose a withdrawal a of all Turkish troops deployed in Eastern Thrace. Turkey grounds the presence of its Armed Forces in that region with its commitments to NATO.

In response to a question, the minister of defence explained that only preparatory work was being carried out now in Bulgaria on the implementation of the CFE [Conventional Forces in Europe] Treaty. He said this in connection with the concern expressed by the host of the programme aroused by some reports about a transferring of weapons from central Europe to some of Bulgaria's neighbouring countries. We will proceed with real reductions of the Armed Forces and military equipment only after the treaty is ratified by all the countries which have signed it.

The minister of defence declared himself for the updating and strengthening of the Armed Forces in this country. This would compensate the considerable reductions under the Paris agreements.

General Mutafchiev said he was for enhancing the professionalism of the Army. But there would be difficulties on this road stemming from the lack of funds, the defence minister said in conclusion.

Drug Abuse, Addiction Increasing Problem

AU2808084291 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 21 Aug 91 p 3

[Nikolay Nikolov report: "Some 34 People 'Fell Asleep' Forever"]

[Text] In addition to everything else, the problem of drug addiction in the country is beginning to weave its way into the criminal world at an alarming rate.

The number of addicts who commit crimes in order to obtain money for the drugs they need is increasing. In this connection, the tendency for yet younger and younger people to be using narcotics and hallucinogens is particularly worrying.

Despite the fact that we are one of the crossroads for illegal drug trafficking, the substances used in Bulgaria are mainly medicinal—sleeping tablets, stimulants, and also some volatile solvents whose use quickly induces drug dependency.

There are around 1,300 addicts registered at the country's psychiatric clinics and drug centers. For Sofia the figure is around 520, but according to statistics from the National Police Department the overall figure for Bulgaria is around 5,000.

Research shows that almost 90 per cent of addicts first used drugs before they were 25 years old. They are poorly educated, inexperienced people. A significant number of them began to use drugs due to various everyday problems with which they could not cope. One-third of all registered addicts are women, and the rest, men. Some 60 percent are under 30 years old. Fatalities have already occurred. From 1970 to 1990, 34 people died from drug abuse.

Drug dependency has started to become a factor whose nature is specifically criminal. What are the crimes most commonly connected with it?

The forging of false prescriptions; thefts of medicines from drug stores, and the surgical and treatment departments of hospitals and clinics; break-ins at pharmaceutical factories, and so on.

Recently, several people were brought to trial for illegally producing poppies to make opium tea. In addition, a criminal group of five people was caught who had stolen 20 kilograms of narcotics from the Chemical Pharmaceutics Plant in Stanke Dimitrov. These narcotics were sold to drug addicts in Sofia.

With an eye to curbing this phenomenon, the police are implementing a series of organizational and other practical measures. Working together with the health services, they determine which drug stores sell specific medicines. The number of these drug stores in the capital is 10. They are specially reinforced and equipped with alarm defense systems, and all narcotics are stored in special metal safes.

There is a continuous exchange of information between branches of the Health Ministry concerned with preventive medicine, the Prosecutor's Office, and other services fighting to combat drug addiction more effectively.

Measures have been taken to improve security at pharmaceutical plants and other places where medicines are manufactured, and more stringent control of accounting and storing them has been introduced.

Nevertheless, the way to curb this phenomenon lies in explanatory and educative work at home and at school in order to clear up any confusion adolescents and young people have.

Sofia City Council Demands BSP Property

AU2608185491 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] The Sofia City People's Council has sent a declaration to the mass media, the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], the judicial authorities, and the chief prosecutor. The declaration points out that one of the main tasks of the Provisional Sofia City Executive Committee in restoring the city's municipalities and their economic restoration is to return to the hands of the city authorities property presently held by various organizations, parties, and departments.

For this purpose the Sofia City People's Council has filed lawsuits for returning property and buildings on Sofia territory. This involves the building the BSP Supreme Council building at Dondukov Boulevard No. 2. The basic parts of the documents related to this building have

been concealed by the BSP. However, the documents we have show that the building has been financed by the Council of Ministers, the declaration notes.

In this connection the Sofia City People's Council appeals to the BSP to return the real estate to the Sofia City People's Council. This property is being maintained in an irrational manner, in accordance with narrow party interests. The Sofia City People's Council could use this property for resolving some of the exceptionally grave problems of the capital in the spheres of culture, education, and social welfare.

The wait-and-see position of the BSP on this matter resembles its position on the events in the USSR. This is even more absurd against the background of the recent decisions of the Soviet leadership in connection with the CPSU party property.

The Sofia City People's Council appeals to the state organs of arbitration to accelerate the review of the lawsuits against the BSP.

The Sofia City People's Council appeals to the chief prosecutor and the minister of justice to adopt a stand vis-a-vis the arbitrary position of the leadership of the Edinstvo [Unity] Trade Union, which uses a building on Moskovska Street No. 5, which belongs to the city council. This property was given to the Sofia City People's Council as a result of a lawsuit against the BSP. However, the Sofia city People's Council cannot utilize this property, because certain organs of the Chief Prosecutor's Office and the court patronize the impudent behavior of the Edinstvo Trade Union.

SDS Dimitrov Interviewed on Role of Army

AU2608185091 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Aug 91 pp 1 3

[Interview with Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces by Major Lyubomir Denov place and date not given: "Sofia Must Never Wake Up to the Same Situation As Moscow Did on 19 August"]

[Text] [Denov] Mr. Dimitrov, would you like to share your views on the country's national security with us?

[Dimitrov] Until recently the country's security was the combination of a satellite position, crippling militarization and the maintenance of an enormous repressive apparatus. The justification for this was the enemy from abroad. Some people still believe this. For others it is simply convenient. We are convinced that security based on poverty, enforced subjugation, and lack of trust is false. In the world today national security is incomparably more complex was in the past. Until now our national security doctrines have always been based on a so-called traditional realism. The balance of power was fetishly interpreted in a military-political sense. This is an outdated approach in conditions where the role for purely military factors coming into play is decreasing. Today the threat for the independent existence of countries is being shifted more from the military field to the economic, ecological, and humanitarian field. In this sense, only democratic mechanisms and not theoretical models will lead to the best solution for Bulgaria's security. It is clear that it will be reliably guaranteed if there is real democracy in the country. This will ensure internal stability and lead to the trust and respect of the outside world. Democracy is the most reliable barrier against adventures; it is predictable and calms one's neighbors. In today's world, democracy alone is a guarantee for national security. Some politicians today still continue to search for guarantees of national security in the Kremlin.

The militarist communist Stalinist coup of 19 August showed the lack of predictability and stability of the Soviet hierarchy that is ready to commit all sorts of adventures, even murderous ones. To seek guarantees of security in a crumbling empire is fatal for Bulgaria. Our guarantees first and foremost lie in the European structure. Besides, we comprehend Europe not only as a geographical reality but also as a philosophical and cultural community, incompatible with oriental despotism and totalitarian subjugation.

[Denov] Mr. Dimitrov, you suggested the idea of regional openness. Do you connect this with Bulgaria's national security?

[Dimitrov] The idea of regional openness is at the heart of the Union of Democratic Forces' perceptions of national security. The idea behind regional openness is to unite the efforts of Bulgaria with the efforts of those countries united around the concept of a new world order. The concept of a new world order is advantageous for Bulgaria, since it gives us opportunities to neutralize tendencies in international development unfavorable to the country. For the moment this is the only weapon available, especially to countries who have restricted military-political potential, to ward off possible aggression. The new forms of regional cooperation and not military confrontation will make it possible for us to overcome our country's vulnerability and increase our potential for adequate conduct in the area of security. Stable Balkans—this is a suitable international environment for Bulgaria.

[Denov] In your opinion, what is the place and path for the Army in the democratic processes now under way? Does it carry out the function of guarantor for a peaceful transition?

[Dimitrov] We believe that the Bulgarian Army would never allow Sofia to wake up one morning to the situation Moscow found itself in on 19 August. That is exactly why the SDS supports nonparty affiliated armed forces whose rights and duties are strictly controlled by law. The SDS supports the control of the armed forces in the hands of the representative organs of power in the country. This is the only way to make it impossible for

the situation to arise in which the Army is an easy puppet for one or other of the political forces and after that a scapegoat. At the same time, only when all ideological control over the army is forbidden, do the armed forces turn into a bullet-proof obstacle against adventurous aggression toward democracy.

[Denov] Mr. Dimitrov, how do you see the Bulgarian Army developing?

[Dimitrov] The SDS supports the theory of an army established on the principles of reasonable sufficiency and exclusively for the defense of the country's doctrine. As in every other sphere, the SDS, regarding the Army, insists on an ever-increasing level of professionalism. We are for a modern army that gradually and in accordance with conditions reconstructs the ranks of its personnel on professional lines. The increasing complexity of military technology and methods for commanding troops demands this. However, until this actually happens, an alternative form of service must be introduced without delay for those whose religious or moral convictions do not allow them to handle weapons.

I would like to stress something extremely important here. Until now we have only spoken of a soldier's duty to society. In fact, our society is indebted to those who defend it. We support raising the social status of Bulgarian officers, sergeants, and conscripts to a level in keeping with their responsibilities.

I would like to take this opportunity to extend best wishes to all military personnel on the occasion of Army Day and to assure them that in the type of democratic country that the SDS wants to make Bulgaria their dignity and pride will be restored because they are serving their fatherland.

BZNS-United Register White Electoral Ballot

AU2708174991 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] At the BZNS-United news conference it was confirmed that the union has submitted a request to the Central Electoral Commission for the registration of a white ballot. This ballot not only has historical, but tactical significance, Aleksandur Dimitrov, member of the Permanent Board, explained. The possibility of the Agrarians participating in a coalition with other political forces at the elections will be discussed by the Supreme Union Council on Saturday.

Havel Comments on Presidency, Domestic Politics

AU2808084991 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 21 Aug 91 pp 1, 5

["Second (and concluding) installment" of an interview with President Vaclav Havel by Jaroslav Veis and Rudolf Zeman; place and date not given: "Concord in Diversity"]

[Text] [LIDOVE NOVINY] As we recall, you were leaving for holiday determined to write an extensive text that was supposed to be a reflection on the first half of your presidency....

[Havel] It was my intention at the time. First, I was at my cottage in eastern Bohemia, then I spent two weeks on the island of Minorca, where a Barcelona businessman lent me his house. That gentleman has been an admirer of mine for a long time, and to keep the record straight, he does not deal with Czechoslovakia; all his business is with northern Africa. Following the two weeks in Minorca, I returned to my cottage, and I actually wrote there a book of reflections on our current situation and prospects for the future. One could describe it as a summer meditation in the middle of my presidency. I still have to give it some finishing touches, edit it, and then, I hope, the book will be published as soon as possible.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Over the summer, you must have also given some thought to the problems of the constitutional arrangement and to the referendum. Have your views changed over the summer? Have you found some possibilities of a different solution?

[Havel] I still believe that the referendum should take place as a step toward a certain elucidation and stabilization of the situation. Voices have been heard claiming that if we asked only whether we wish to remain in a common state, the referendum would be meaningful only in the event of a negative result; if the result were positive, it would not give any indication as to the form of the state, and the tug-of-war would continue. Nevertheless, I am convinced that if a majority of citizens voted in favor of living in a common state, it would be a politically valid fact. It means that it would provide the national councils, political institutions, and constitutional officials with a binding basis. Of course, in the discussions preceding the referendum, it would be necessary to explain what a common state means and what the fundamental and necessary features of a federation are.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] The Romany issue is gradually gaining in magnitude, political extremists are all the time louder and more aggressive, criminal violence affects people more and more. The state administration often gives an impression of feebleness and uncertainty. Does it worry you?

[Havel] These certainly are alarming phenomena, but one must also realize that our new democracy is still searching for itself. It has to find itself, and it has to find a new self-confidence. Until recently, the police did not actually know what they were and were not allowed to do. Of course, they were afraid that they would be labeled followers of totalitarian methods in a new garb. Every consequential social change, and particularly, the fall of a dictatorship, is accompanied by a growth in the crime rate. Spain after Franco's fall is sufficient tangible proof. I do not mean to say that we should not do everything we can to ward it off effectively. The police corps must be reinforced; we must invest in them. That, too, is a task for the newborn democracy that does not have its sovereignty tempered by decades.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] The fall is approaching, a fall that some politicians already refer to as a hot one. The current constitution does not provide you with any great powers. At the same time, many citizens, and not only your admirers, expect from you a consequential intercession in political affairs.

[Havel] Most people, and particularly some politicians, imagine under the concept of the extension of presidential powers some grand or super power of the president. I do not believe that I or anybody else should have such abundant power. I am contemplating possible situations of constitutional and political crises and safety valves to prevent these crises. It is entirely logical that one of these safety valves, for example in the event of a government crisis, is the head of the state. If the relations between the president, the legislature, and the government are well balanced, the president can act as one of these valves. The president may never use certain powers, but it is good if they are available in the event of an extreme situation.

In Czechoslovakia, a hypothetical possibility exists that at the same moment in time the country could have neither government, nor legislature or president—a void of ruling power—since the legislature can recall the president—and that even by just a few votes—and pass a vote of no-confidence in the government, and under certain circumstances, it can also be dissolved at the same time. Speaking of a certain extension of presidential powers, I had in mind a guarantor of the continuity of state power. It would not be a great increase in power, but rather a return of some powers that the president used to have in our First Republic Constitution. That, of course, is an issue for our future constitution.

Regarding my political position or political role in the near future, I believe that it has become a traditional duty of the president in this country to assume a certain degree of an integrating role. This means that he must not let himself be drawn into the everyday clashes of the politicians, but if these disputes expand beyond a certain limit and become dangerous to future developments, he must act as the one who provides ground for an agreement. I see this to be my main political role, in the event that—as you announce—a hot fall is to come.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Indeed, the constructive center—to a certain degree and under certain circumstances represented by the Civic Forum—disappeared from the Czech political scene. Undoubtedly, this should make your role more difficult.

[Havel] I declare myself neither left nor right; I do not want to be identified with any specific political force. Not because, as one deputy believes, the Constitution does not permit this, but rather because I see my political role in a constant search for a neutral ground allowing for agreement and compromise. This was, to a certain degree, my goal as I initiated the constitution negotiations. I intend to continue in this function also in the future. Of course, while doing so, I cannot keep track of how many distinct political groupings and forces support or identify with my position, and how many move away from it at any given moment. I simply cannot be a weathercock and turn in the wind of political attitudes.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] The summer dispute over Alexander Dubcek was a certain preamble to the clash of the right-wing and left-wing groupings. The pressure of the right to attain his dismissal from the post was considerable. How did you perceive this summer dispute?

[Havel] I like working with Alexander Dubcek. I simply do not feel that I have any reason to call for his dismissal just because his attitude is, let us say, more left-wing than the right-wing part of the Federal Assembly. This is the process of political crystallization that had to come sooner or later. It was obvious that such a process would occur during this two-year period, but I have no idea why it should be necessary to keep replacing people in various posts. It is up to the Federal Assembly deputies to elect their chairman, but if I were a deputy, I would favor Alexander Dubcek keeping his post.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] We have a feeling that the questions of the constitutional arrangement and constitution are fading in the background, and it is as though everything that seemed to be so promising after the Kromeriz talks fell asleep. We even believe that a certain resignation is manifest in the expressed ideas of possible gradual redrafting of the Constitution by amendments. We would adjust it to the needs of the new elections, then to the needs of drawing more precisely the division of powers between the Czech and the Slovak Republics. We consider it to be the farthest from an ideal scenario.

[Havel] I agree with you. I believe that these three legislatures were elected with a clear-cut task to give this country new constitutions. They are actually constitution-bearing legislatures. It would be an enormous failure of all who were elected to these legislatures if they did not fulfill this task.

Dubcek Responds to Criticism on Coup Stance

AU2808082791 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 26 Aug 91 p 2

[CTK report on interview with Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek by a CTK correspondent in Bratislava on 25 August: "Will Christ Pick Up the Whip?"]

[Text] Bratislava— In his regular [Sunday] interview for CTK, CSFR Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek discussed the situation on the Czechoslovak political scene and his upcoming visit to Italy.

In connection with the demand of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] for replacing the directors of Czechoslovak Television, Czechoslovak Radio, and CTK, Alexander Dubcek said that this testifies to the ODS effort to gain as many posts as possible before the next elections and, at the same time, proves that the confrontational pressure exerted on the protagonists of the 1968 Prague Spring is being stepped up.

As regards his absence from rallies marking the anniversary of the military invasion of Czechoslovakia on 21 August, he said that no one had requested his presence and that this arena is now being used by others and for different purposes.

[CTK] Why did you not comment on the contents of the session of the Federal Assembly Presidium on Czechoslovak Television on 23 August?

[Dubcek] Because Czechoslovak Television asked Mr. Milan Sutovec for a comment in the Federal Assembly.

[CTK] In his statement on Czechoslovak Television, Federal Assembly Deputy Chairman M. Sutovec said that M. Gorbachev has had his share in the military coup in the Soviet Union, and he made an analogy with your mistake in 1968 that led to [the Soviet-led invasion on] 21 August.

[Dubcek] I do not share Mr. Sutovec's view. Perhaps he felt at that moment such an analogy with Gorbachev's mistake and thought it necessary to use it against me. His claim is not in harmony with the facts, however.

[CTK] The daily press carried [Christian Democratic Party Chairman] V. Benda's statement, in which he refers to you, among others. According to his words, you had supposedly clearly speculated with the victory of reactionary communist forces that staged the Moscow coup and with possible cooperation.

[Dubcek] When I learned this, I was flabbergasted. Readers, our citizens, and voters will realize, also on the basis of this case, what absurd deductions the representatives of some political parties are capable of making. It is embarrassing and deplorable that the chairman of the Christian Democratic Party [KDS] and of the KDS Club of Deputies in the Federal Assembly has resorted to such approaches. But the end justifies the means. Could those

standing before tribunes in Prague's Letna Plain and Wenceslas Square and in Bratislava's National Uprising Square [in November 1989] sense that the "velvet" revolution would also develop in this direction, that once again we would be looking for an enemy within our own ranks? Believe me, it may seem to many people that this is beyond an individual person's powers. What else is in store for us? Will the forces that have learned nothing from history drive us toward another Lipany [reference to the battle of Lipany in 1434, which the Hussite troops lost owing to lack of unity and which marked the end of the revolutionary Hussite movement in Bohemia]? It would be wrong to underestimate them. Democracy—which we did not win in a battle but which we gained through suffering—can be disrupted by elements of anarchism, demagoguery, and personal and narrow party interests. No, one can no longer have faith in common statehood, democracy, and national understanding. After the wave of normalization-era totalitarianism, the wave of decaying "velvet" is rolling over the protagonists of the 1968 Prague Spring. New warriors have arisen and are about to send the wheels of discord, passions, fear, and uncertainty spinning. And what if Christ really picks up the whip and starts driving the sinners out of the House of God? Often it has seemed as though certain circles did not want tolerance and understanding. They must constantly stir up mud. The people have already been tested more than once. Let us not play hazardous games with their patience and trust. Let us not try to manipulate and deceive them again.

At the close of the interview, Alexander Dubcek said that he will visit Italy at the invitation of some cities that bestowed honorary citizenship on him in 1988, which he has not yet had time to accept.

Poll Views Attitudes Toward Constitutional Setup

LD2708221791 Prague CTK in English 1915 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 27 (CTK)—A July poll showed little change in Czech and Slovak attitudes towards Czechoslovakia's future constitutional setup since a previous survey was taken in March. According to the recent poll of 1,133 people, conducted by the Prague-based Institute for Public Opinion Research (IVVM), 39 per cent of respondents in the Czech Republic would prefer a unitary state, 27 per cent the existing federation. In the Slovak Republic, 34 per cent list a federation as their first choice, followed by a confederation (23 per cent). Support for an independent Slovakia remains constant at around 15 per cent. The only significant shift in opinion since the March poll concerned the issue of Moravian autonomy: the support of Moravians themselves for autonomy for the Czech province of Moravia within the Czechoslovak federation dropped from over one third to one quarter. According to the 1990 census, about 40 per cent of the population in the Czech republic (10.3 million) live in Moravia.

Report Says Troop Redeployment Going As Planned

AU2808080391 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Aug 91 p 6

[Anton Fillo report: "Slovakia's Specific Conditions"]

[Text] Whether people like it or not, talk about Slovakia's specific conditions has reached the Army. It is not that certain generals wanted such talk to reach the Army; the issue arose from our former geopolitical and strategic situation. The West was the enemy and, logically, more than 80 percent of our Army was concentrated in the Czech Lands. According to military strategists, Slovakia was way behind the lines, and it is not surprising that military colleges and various specialist courses were the only things located here. Two training divisions were indicative of its relatively insignificant combat worth.

The situation has altered drastically in connection with the newly adopted defensive military doctrine. It is certainly rather paradoxical that other countries are disarming themselves in accordance with the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, while Slovakia is arming itself. It is not a military secret that there are approximately 1,000 tanks in Slovakia; less than half of them should remain following their extensive elimination. On the other hand, the number of artillery, armored transport vehicles, combat vehicles, infantry, and antitank artillery will increase. A mixed fighter aircraft squadron has been transferred to Sliac, and two emergency helicopter squadrons will be formed within two years. A third civil defense regiment will be established in addition to the current regiments.

Within three years, two permanently combat-ready divisions and three general divisions should be formed from the ground forces in Slovakia. Apart from this, an air defense division and several other specialist units are already deployed here. If we add the military colleges and secondary schools to this, there will indeed be an abundance of troops in the republic. On the whole, there should be more than 40,000 of them. The majority of professional soldiers and troops undergoing basic military training will—in accordance with the new wind sweeping through the Army—fulfill the long-held desire of their fathers and brothers to serve at home in their native country.

Except for apartments for professional soldiers, the Army has no other claims to civilian property in connection with redeployment. It is withdrawing to traditional Slovak garrisons—first and foremost, in the south—where the Army has always been. In the event of an emergency, three defense units would take up positions in the eastern operational zone—a northern division along 450 km of border with Poland, an eastern division along 98 km of border with the USSR, and a southern division along 679 km of border with Hungary. In view of Slovakia's overwhelmingly mountainous and wooded landscape, the establishment of a new kind of ground force is being taken into consideration—mountain units capable of conducting combat activity in exposed terrain.

Article on Agents, Weapons Left Behind by Soviets

AU2808074691 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 24 Aug 91 p 2

["Vlastimil Horak report: "Agents in Milovice?"]

[Text] Even if special teams have found a few suspicious Soviet "tourists" without valid documents recently, there was no one who would ensure that they would be ordered out of the country. They are mostly former soldiers who—exploiting the fact that they are familiar with the place—are moving freely in the military area and its surroundings and hiding there. Gasoline is still flowing from the underground containers of the Soviet Army into places next to them. Arms have been discovered there more than once. Food and alcohol disappear from stores in the area. However, the strangest fact is that in some places—so it seems—someone is still making long-distance calls and tapping telephone lines and transmitters. Despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the members of the Central Group of the Soviet Forces in Milovice have withdrawn, not all them have left. The military area, approximately 10 by 20 kilometers, and its surroundings are living in a remarkable symbiosis.

Weapons and Hiding Places

The Soviet Army has confirmed that the first thing it did was transport "special" ammunition out of our country but, last month, strange mortar ammunition was found in a hidden place. Weapons are finding their way from secret underground stockpiles to the black market. Most often, they are sold at the flea market in Letna in Prague. Because of these findings, a special team made up of members of the criminal and military police has been established. This team is currently looking for secret depots of ammunition, weapons, and special military technology, and Soviet deserters' hiding places. Last week, the group destroyed dozens of kilograms of artillery shells, infantry ammunition, and other explosive materials. The members of the group are gradually discovering hiding places designed for long-term concealment and they are compiling a map of them.

Dead Water

Experts from the special team have found a number of toxic substances this week, for instance, full bags of white powder and metal containers containing oily liquid. All the material is undergoing detailed chemical tests. Even the Milovice creek, which flows around the garrison, was not spared contamination. Not only is its water dead but, according to information provided by local residents, there is a lot of unexploded ammunition lying on the bed of the river.

Radio Emissions and Agents?

Milovice residents are constantly complaining about the fact that someone is disturbing the reception of radio and television signals during the night. The interference is identical to the interference that occurred when Soviet soldiers were here. A surprising finding is that long-distance cables lead into here and it is possible to connect a phone to them and to make, phone calls anywhere in the world without any problems at all. Of course, this can also be misused for wiretapping.

Nuclear Weapons

In a top secret area near the village of Zbozicko-Lustenice, not yet identified objects were found that, from their size and construction, do not exclude the possibility that they housed medium range missiles, that is, missiles that can carry nuclear warheads. A similar object was found near the village of Benatecka-Vrutice. Some of the local people have confirmed the fact that, in the 1970's, intensive underground construction was underway here. Moreover, yesterday's detailed findings testify to the fact that the Soviet Army was in possession of nuclear carriers near Prague.

It is true that, even in the course of last year, some security bodies tried to find out what Soviets were hiding and where. Despite this, the military area in which the Chief Command of the Central Group of the Soviet Forces was located still remains an unexplored place. The investigation carried out by experts from the security units cannot be efficient without special technology and the greater willingness of the local residents to be more communicative.

Dienstbier Comments on Meeting With Cheney

AU2708164991 Prague CTK in English 1956 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Washington, D.C. Aug 21 (CTK correspondent)—U.S. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney today told Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier that any U.S. participation in the conversion of the Czechoslovak arms industry to civilian production will be restricted to private investment.

In a meeting with Dienstbier at the Pentagon, Cheney stressed that the U.S. Government does not intend to invest in Czechoslovakia and will not buy Czechoslovak weapons.

But he did offer to review the list of products banned for export to Czechoslovakia by the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM). COCOM was founded in 1949 to prevent the transfer of military technology to communist countries by controlling the sale of strategically important goods by Western exporters.

Cheney said it matters very much to the United States that Czechoslovak arms factories successfully convert to

non-military production and American investors are interested in Czechoslovak companies and former arms factories.

Dienstbier told CTK after his meeting with Cheney that they discussed the relationship of the United States and NATO to Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Also present at the discussions was Deputy Defense Secretary Donald J. Atwood who visited Czechoslovakia not long ago to tour arms plants in Slovakia. According to Dienstbier, "Atwood said the work of the groups analyzing the results of the visit is continuing and that they are preparing draft solutions."

An unconfirmed report said that Dienstbier also spoke with Cheney and Secretary of State James Baker about a future oil pipeline from Germany to Czechoslovakia.

Carnogursky Discusses Integration With Europe

LD2608212291 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by Alica Bielikova; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Bielikova] Events in the Soviet Union have caused an enormous change in the view on independence of the republics. In your view, when will Czechoslovakia recognize the independence of the Baltic and other republics?

[Carnogursky] I cannot tell you exactly when Czechoslovakia will, but I personally, and the Christian Democratic Movement, will do the utmost to ensure that Czechoslovakia recognizes them as soon as possible. We shall be discussing this at the next session of the Czechoslovak government tomorrow. In my view, Czechoslovakia should recognize these republics as soon as possible, as these republics are recognizing each other. The declaration of independence of the individual Union republics shows that the USSR was actually held together by force in the form in which it has functioned so far. Secondly -and this is something that concerns us too—it seems that the principle of nationality in the building of the state is the most important one, the firmest, and that the state that is based on the principle of nationality is the most cohesive.

[Bielikova] On the background of the events in the USSR and in Yugoslavia, what sort of development do you envisage for Czecho-Slovak relations, and in our federation as such?

[Carnogursky] I see the latest development in the USSR, leading to the declaration of independence of the individual Union republics, as a confirmation of the Slovak effort to achieve a strong position for the republics here, within the framework of Czechoslovakia. I see it too as a confirmation of my ideas so far, and of the ideas expressed by the Christian Democratic Movement, that Slovakia wants to occupy in the European integration its own independent position, naturally within the framework of the integration. I think that we should not give up this aim, even with regard to developments in the USSR. On the contrary, we should continue to pursue it more thoroughly to enable Slovakia to act truly as Slovakia within the framework of the European integration. This is where the difference lies between the position of Czecho-Slovakia and Slovakia, as compared to the position of, let us say, the Union republics in the USSR or of the Yugoslavian republics, in that we have a relatively realistic hope to find our place in European integration and, therefore, we can avoid following the path of the Union republics in the USSR, or in Yugoslovia, that is, to declare independence immediately. This option should be there only as a reserve, if the far more constructive option of becoming members of European integration does not work out.

[Bielikova] But we have also heard voices calling for declaring the independence of Slovakia at the plenary sessions of the Slovak National Council. Do you think that they were not successful only because they were so sporadic?

[Carnogursky] The Slovak National Council did not adopt them because it was thinking of this constructive and gradual development toward finding a place for Slovakia within European integration.

[Bielikova] Mr. Prime Minister, what development do you envisage in these relations of ours? Because the pressure on the part of Bohemia, the Bohemian politicians and also, as I know, among the intellectuals, journalists and so on in the Czech lands is very anti-Slovak. Do you still envisage a peaceful development?

[Carnogursky] Naturally. It might be possible to interpret the development in the USSR as an argument that could convince parts of the press in the Czech Republic that this peaceful, constructive path of Slovakia and also of the Czech Republic toward European integration is the utmost in mutual loyalty and that we should preserve it, as everywhere else around us a different path is being chosen.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on SFRY, Baltics

LD2708190191 Budapest MTI in English 1805 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Budapest, August 27 (MTI)—Hungary continues to make active diplomatic efforts in order to promote, jointly with the major international organizations, the peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis, said Janos Herman, spokesman of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, at his press briefing on Tuesday.

We deem efforts aimed at forcibly changing the internal Yugoslav borders to be alarming, he said. Another disquieting element is that the Yugoslav People's Army—it seems—is taking an active part in the clashes. The situation of the Hungarian minority in the Serbian republic is deteriorating, and the danger to the Hungarians in Croatia is also increasing. The spokesman said the Hungarian Foreign Ministry has repeatedly represented their interests to the Yugoslav Federal Government, and has very firmly protested against the repeated violation of Hungarian air space.

Herman said that as the Hungarian Government has—to no avail—requested information along military lines regarding the unusual troop movements on the Yugoslav side of the Hungarian-Yugoslav border, the Foreign Ministry requested an urgent reply from the Yugoslav Federal Government on the evening of August 25. Inasmuch as no satisfactory reply is given to this request, then representatives of the 35 member states of the CSCE will discuss the events in the framework of the conflict prevention centre. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry is in daily contact with the member states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and strives to convince them of the importance of accepting a greater role.

The spokesman announced the Foreign Ministry has asked the CSCE to allow representatives from the three Baltic states to be able to attend the work of the conference as observers. It also encouraged that the body deal with the possibility of their full membership at its session in October. Foreign ministers of the Baltic states are to pay a brief visit to Budapest on September 2.

Herman also said Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the Yugoslav state Presidency, is currently in Hungary on a private visit. Andrey Kozyrev, the Russian foreign minister, is also in Budapest for talks, to prepare the way for the visit of Boris Yeltsin to Hungary.

Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky is to visit Greece over the weekend, and will hold talks in Albania in the first days of September, followed by talks in the Netherlands. Jeszenszky is to travel to Switzerland on September 7, to attend the Europe Day ceremonies, marking the 700th anniversary of the founding of the Swiss confederation.

Foreign Affairs Committee Meets Slovene Minister

LD2708194691 Budapest MTI in English 1408 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Budapest, August 27 (MTI)—Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitri Rupel met members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian parliament today.

Rupel informed the committee that Slovenia had set out on its sovereign path, with Lithuania being the first to recognize Slovenia's independence. At the same time, Rupel expressed his regret that this first step had not been taken by Hungary. He said ethnic Hungarians living in Slovenia support the efforts for independence, and expressed his hope Hungary would soon recognize the republic. He said sovereignty was the only way out of the dramatic internal conflict of Yugoslavia. The process of democratization has already started in Croatia, Bosnia and Macedonia, Rupel said, while Bolshevism still reigns in other parts of the country.

Slovenia has proposed a security and cooperation conference in Yugoslavia with both member republics and republics wishing to secede present. The conference could hopefully resolve the crisis and discuss human rights, internal border inviolability and minority protection issues.

Foreign Affairs Committee chairman of the Hungarian parliament Gyula Horn said he could only outline views of his own and those of his party, the Hungarian Socialist Party, because the Committee has yet to discuss the latest developments of the Yugoslav crisis.

Horn did say tensions have not eased in Yugoslavia over the past few days, but instead, the civil war has escalated. 'Events will soon pass the stage when they can be handled as internal affairs of Yugoslavia,' he said, stating that as all sides have played a part in the clashes turning into civil war, they will have to find the solution with joint efforts.

Speaking about Slovenian sovereignty, Horn stressed that Hungary wants to consider the views of other Yugoslavian republics before officially recognizing an independent Slovenia.

Foreign Affairs Committee members from the Alliance of Free Democrats, the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Federation of Young Democrats have agreed with Horn that Slovenia's sovereignty was a 'fait accompli'. However, Hungary must consider the ethnic Hungarians living there. Also they should try to develop good-neighbourly ties with all Yugoslavian republics, they said.

Army Official Visits Romanian Counterpart

AU2708095591 Budapest MTI in English 1531 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Budapest, 25 Aug (MTI)—The Hungarian-Romanian military relations are developing successfully,

which may have a favourable effect on political and inter-state relations as well, Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, chief of staff of the Hungarian Army, told a press conference at Tokol Airport on August 25.

Borsits paid an official visit to Romania at the invitation of Brigadier General Dumitru Cioflina, state secretary and chief of staff of the Romanian Army.

The delegation headed by Borsits studied the training methods and technology of the Romanian Army, and got an insight into the everyday life of Romanian soldiers. The personal talks were aimed at confidence-building. The approach between the two armies started earlier: After the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty, the Hungarian Army concluded its first bilateral cooperation treaty with the Romanian Army.

Concerning the violation of Hungarian air space by Yugoslav aircraft, the lieutenant general said that the Hungarians should not be taken in by eventual provocations and should display self-constraint. In the current situation, the Hungarian Army need not be mobilized but the air unit stationed near the border is on the alert so as to be deployed if required, Borsits said.

UJ MAGYARORSZAG Rejects Possibility of Coup

AU2308133591 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 22 Aug 91 p 3

["B.J."-signed report: "Could There Be A Coup in Hungary?—The Staff of Officers Is Loyal to the Government"]

[Text] In view of the events in Moscow, many people ask whether a Bolshevik attempt to seize power is possible in Hungary too. In Hungary too, there are organized political forces that followed the forced changes in the Soviet Union with considerable sympathy. We asked responsible government officials to tell us the extent to which Hungarian Armed Forces are loyal to democracy.

We learned from the Defense Ministry that they have already succeeded in removing officers who are not committed to democracy from the corps of generals. Today, the majority are officers who support the democratically-elected government, or at least are loyal to this government. Naturally, one does not know what is going on in their heads, because there has not been a serious political crisis situation in Hungary since last spring, a crisis that would force the Army to make some sort of a political decision. The defense officials added that the change in the regime had not yet been carried out at the middle level.

The officials regard a foreign intervention in Hungary as impossible, because the nature of the events in the Soviet Union excludes this possibility. This is fortunate, because a foreign attack would come today at the worst possible time: The territorial reorganization of the Hungarian Army has not yet been concluded. However, the so-called elite units, namely units equipped with the most modern technology, are not being moved.

The political state secretary of the Interior Ministry told us that those who might wish to forcefully seize power in Hungary do not have the necessary means to do so. The staff of head officers in the Hungarian police are loyal to our regime. Naturally, Hungary's security would increase if we succeeded in integrating ourselves into democratic Europe as soon as possible. However, the acceleration of democratic development and of the change in our regime are essential requirements for this. It would be particularly welcome if we succeeded in making sure that the personal consequences of political changes are also drawn in the area of justice administration. This is necessary because the activity of justice administration also affects the police.

We must add to all this that it would be particularly important in this situation to convince the people that the necessary changes of personnel are also carried out at the middle level of state administration and in local public life. The current events in the Soviet Union show that history does have a certain irrationality, and that the freedom achieved through sacrifices can be taken away.

The governing parties are facing tremendous historic responsibility in consistently carrying out the change in our regime, because they received the Hungarian people's mandate to do this last spring....

President Goncz Reviews Past Year's Events

AU2708173091 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Aug 91 pp 1, 5

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by Peter Nemeth and Andras Banki; place and date not given: "May the Will To Find A Consensus Be Strengthened"]

[Text] President Arpad Goncz received our chief editor Peter Nemeth and our deputy chief editor Andras Banki on the occasion of Hungary's 20 August holiday. In his interview, Goncz said that the president's status, which places him above political parties, meant that the president was above the governing parties and not just the opposition parties. The president also stated that, on the whole, Hungarians' assessment of the present situation and of the past was more true to life than ever before, and Hungarians are surprisingly resolute in their rejection of extremism, be it right-wing or left-wing. According to the president, the current changes represent the kind of readjustment that St. Stephen [Hungary's first king] brought to Europe. Hungary has reached the stage of recovery, and to recover, it is putting an enormous amount of energy into motion. The president has the impression that encouraging signs are on the increase. President Goncz is, nevertheless, somewhat concerned that politics, as a whole, are drifting away from the reality of social trends.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Mr. President, in which direction do you think that the Hungarian Republic has progressed

in this past year? Could one have predicted the developments and changes that have taken place?

[Goncz] Our political system developed with the establishment of our republican state system, almost simultaneously. Since then, we have noticed small shortcomings that need to be rectified. The Constitution is fairly imperfect and the National Assembly lacks experience; sometimes it discusses secondary issues, and sometimes flying tempers replace serious debates. My impression is that if we had known the facts, we would have been able to foresee these shortcomings, but we did not know about these facts and developments—even though they seem logical in hindsight. Ultimately, it is surprising that there have only been this many hitches. I am pleasantly surprised by this, because the country is experiencing an enormous and traumatic change, and it would have been hard to even imagine that we would react with such calm, wisdom, and moderation.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] How could this be explained?

[Goncz] I think that this is the total output of these last 40, or even 70 years: On the whole, Hungarians' assessment of the present situation and the past is more true to life than ever before.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] How has this come about?

[Goncz] This is a result of the fact that we have been struck sobering blows from both the right and the left. After the Treaty of Trianon, the inter-war regime refused to acknowledge the Soviet Union's existence, and as new nations emerged in the Carpathian basin, the regime went to war on the basis of erroneous assessments. The second Trianon treaty, which was accompanied after the war by more serious forced resettlement, the persecution of Hungarians, and the abandonment of former national minorities made Hungarians wake up to the realities of the Carpathian basin. The Soviet Union's victory over us forced us to realize that, for Hungary, superpower relations are at least bipolar, and it would be preferable to stand on more than one leg. If I look at the order of economic necessity, the collapse of the socialist world system shows the necessity to join in with pan-European developments. The issue of sovereignty becomes tangible when it is limited, either voluntarily or forcibly. In the past 40 years, our sovereignty was first suppressed by force, as a result of external influence, and this was a direct consequence of the situation that established itself after the war. If the country had subsequently refused to acknowledge reality, we would have had to expect it [the country] to come to an end, sooner or later. However, my impression is that most Hungarians acknowledge and assess the country's situation perfectly well—either instinctively or consciously—and they clearly see that the current changes represent the kind of readjustment that St. Stephen brought to Europe. St. Stephen's readjustment was not much more than a realist political assessment of our geographic situation. We can expect the same thing now, albeit with much less bloodshed.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Do you agree with the viewpoint that the Soviet Union has ceased to be a political superpower and that Germany will sooner or later take over its role in the region?

[Goncz] The Soviet Union has not at all ceased to be a political superpower, and Hungary has to realize that there will never be a hole in the Soviet Union's place. Regardless of the Soviet Union's name in the future or of the way in which the peripheries relate to the central area, the Soviet Union will be a superpower, and it will influence our lives. As far as we are concerned, the most favorable European development would be one that included the Soviet Union, because then we could cease to be a "ferrying country" between East and West, and at long last, we would not need to live as commuters between two poles; we could live in a field where we would find our natural place. However, whether this happens or not, it is a geographic and political fact that the Soviet Union and Germany, the region's two potential superpowers (and they are not necessarily in rivalry with each other), will have a very serious influence on the fate of Hungarians, and this is something we really have to realize. Naturally, this also means that Hungary, which has regained its political sovereignty, has to make an independent decision: If it joins the EC, it will have to voluntarily limit its sovereignty in the interest of the European Community. This does not mean that we will have to surrender our national identity or our European traditions, and we will certainly not have to abandon our creative abilities.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] What consequences could the events in Yugoslavia have for Hungary and our region? What would the best solution be?

[Goncz] The solution depends on the Yugoslav people, as well as on the pressure that Europe and the world's superpowers exert on Yugoslavia; in relation to that, our own influence is rather limited. The developments in Yugoslavia have dangerous consequences for us from several points of view. First of all, these developments make the world think that this entire region, including Hungary, is unstable; this can slow down and distort our economic processes. Secondly, Yugoslavia will start producing refugees and become a lasting crisis center. Thirdly, almost half a million ethnic Hungarians live in Yugoslavia, and we are concerned about their fate, although it is difficult for us to guarantee efficient protection. We are not disinterested in Yugoslavia's future, but there is precious little we can do to influence it.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] How do you see Hungary's situation?

[Goncz] I see a country with a wounded soul, a country marked by numerous shocks. I see a country that has reached the stage of recovery, in my opinion, and to recover, it is putting an enormous amount of energy into motion. I see the trace of this energy everywhere, and I have the impression that encouraging signs are on the

increase. At the moment, I am somewhat concerned by the fact that politics, as a whole, are drifting away from the realities of social trends. I can think of more than one example to illustrate this.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] The most critical moment after our free elections was the taxi drivers' blockade. Mr. President, what long-term lessons did you personally learn from those events?

[Goncz] First and foremost, that was the point in time when we realized the need to look for a consensus and to coordinate interests, and I hope that this realization will not fade away in today's political battles. Indeed, I think that it is essential for decision-makers to seriously consider the potential social effects of their decisions. At the time of the taxi drivers' blockade, they did not think things through. We need a coordination of interests because that is an efficient tool. I would like the mechanism of interest coordination to function more efficiently than it is at present. For this, we definitely need strong interest representation groups that can control the spontaneous reactions of the people they represent at any given moment. If we weaken the role of interest representation groups, and if we find the process of interest coordination dangerous, curbing, or time-consuming, then we will have to expect these kinds of outbursts. That was the main lesson we learned from the conflict. Thank goodness the conflict ended exceptionally fortunately and wisely. It would definitely be worthwhile to ponder on this lesson.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] You have just spoken about interest coordination, and at the moment, there are serious debates concerning our trade unions....

[Goncz] I find the debate between our trade unions very dangerous because they can have undesired side-effects. I am not looking for faults or for the people responsible: The two or three trade unions primarily concerned are probably equally responsible. I think that the trade unions should have discussed these things and found a solution among themselves, a solution that would increase rather than decrease their role in interest representation. The debate has now reached a stage where the trade unions can only find a solution together. It is up to them to fill existing laws with real and constructive content. The economic and social conditions in this country make it extremely important for us to have credible and strong trade unions. That is primarily what I would point out to the trade unions and the government. It is currently the historical responsibility of all interested parties to reach an agreement.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] According to political analysts, the Hungarian party structure is undeveloped, and it does not reflect real social value and interest relations. People are turning away from political parties, their confidence has been diminished not only as far as the governing parties are concerned, but also as far as the opposition parties are concerned. In fact, they have even lost confidence in the National Assembly and in our legislative democracy, and this is extremely worrying. What underlying reasons can there be for this?

[Goncz] We have our first elections behind us. During the election campaign, the parties that were voted into the National Assembly advocated aims that were almost identical. Differences were mainly to be seen in the details and in the modes of implementation. Unfortunately, religious wars between denominations that are close to each other are much more violent and bitter than wars between denominations that are perfect strangers. Hungarian politics also show signs of this phenomenon. The object and efforts of faith are the same. However, in their realization and implementation, we find the fervor of missions, some kind of "historical envy." In some cases, intentions are very honest, but in others, they are extremely dangerous. I would like us to move away from this, in the direction of pragmatism. The current party structure will probably group around more clearly conceived ideologies and practical goals. We will probably follow a European example with two opposing large forces and some small factions in the middle that weight the balance, thereby playing a key role. I would not like to give any names at this stage because the Hungarian party structure does not exactly follow the European structure. Our greatest shortcoming, in my opinion, is the lack of a credible social democracy, and it is very difficult to explain the reasons behind this shortcoming. Perhaps the word "socialism" has lost its credibility.

At the same time, there are several political groupings that claim to be social democrats. However, social democracy's sphere is empty and it must be filled with something in one way or another. For this to happen, the forces that are striving to do this must first of all recognize the social reality behind them. Unfortunately, we do not know the exact intricate structure of current Hungarian society's value awareness, and we are not aware of this society's type of class and interest structures because we continue to think in categories that lost their meaning long ago. We speak of peasants, and we do not know the system of values prevailing in today's villages, although most of our industrial workers came from villages or are still living in villages, and they also have other connections. We do not know the exact consequences of the fact that the organized workers of old have been replaced by workers coming from the villages in the past 40 years, and these people's ideology is not the same as that of the organized and militant workers. It seems that we do not have the will to thoroughly examine this society in such a way as to also recognize its internal structure. If I had money to carry out sociological surveys, I would try to examine our society's intricate structure, and I would adjust my policy to these findings.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Mr. Goncz! Do you see any brakes and guarantees in Hungarian political and legislative life that could hinder the spread of extremism? Do you think that a swing to the right is a real danger?

[Goncz] Thank heavens Hungary has not drifted to the right much more than this. If we take a look at the opinion polls carried out in neighboring countries, and the stream of ideas that were earlier swept under the carpet and are now resurfacing, we can see that these opinions and ideas are much more polarized than in Hungary. Hungary is surprisingly careful; it has a surprisingly deep sense of reality, and it rejects extremism with a surprising certainty, be it right or left-wing extremism. Sometimes, we are even too suspicious. Besides, this is reflected in the results of every opinion poll and in legislative elections. However, it is alarming that our society not only rejects extremism, but also slowly rejects almost any political manifestation, because this society gives absolute priority to its immediate and short-term interests, as opposed to politics. Everyone defends his own interests with an unbelievable vitality and not in a passive way, and everyone strongly demands the appreciation of his immediate surroundings. Consequently, proving its energy and creative capacity, Hungary has started on the way up and sometimes it impatiently gets rid of everything that is not directly connected with this road. Naturally, this process is only partially deliberate. However, awareness of people's direct interest is absolutely deliberate.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] This was perhaps the reason for the lack of interest in the by-elections, namely the realization that no matter who represents me in the National Assembly, this does not affect me personally. The assertion of interests has become quite strong in Hungary, and it has become partially independent of politics.

[Goncz] This passivity covers a rather political interest, although it is believed to be anything but political, namely the recognition of interest and the struggle of various interests, and this does not fit into the structured political activity carried out in the Assembly. It would be worth structuring all this in some way, mostly through groups that represent individual interests. Regarding their importance, at the moment I give priority to social movements over legislative battles, and I try to continuously follow these movements with great attention.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Conflicts emerge occasionally between the government and the president of the republic, and Arpad Goncz recently got into the crossfire of strong protests coming from the governing parties. How do you take these attacks, and how do you evaluate your relations with the prime minister?

[Goncz] I would not call them conflicts, but occasional differences of opinion, primarily on details of how to interpret the Constitution. If we take a little of the historical perspective into account in looking at the issue of appointing the deputy chairmen of Hungarian Radio and Television, I must say that the whole affair is a storm in a teacup. The only thing was that the president had a different view from that of the government coalition on the issue of a questionable set of appointments. Honestly speaking, I was very surprised that all this controversy gave rise to so much surprise, because the Constitution took such controversies into consideration from the outset. If the Constitution gives the president the authority to make and withdraw appointments, this also means that, lacking a consensus, it is precisely the presidential "no" that can smooth the more serious political conflicts.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Is this what happened with the compensation law too?

[Goncz] Essentially yes. I was worried and came up with questions addressed to the Constitutional Court that, in turn, provided answers. Taking into consideration the decisions of the Constitutional Court, the National Assembly made its decisions, as the highest legislative body. Therefore, the compensation law is a fact, and I can add nothing to this. The fact that I do not know how the amount of compensation and its implementation will affect the economy and society is another matter. I do not want to make predictions, but the future will determine whether I am right or not. Both the possibility of mistakes and the fact that I am right are present in my worries. Let us refrain from overdramatizing the situation: The fact that the president is above political parties also applies to the governing parties, not only to the opposition parties.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Did you answer the prime minister on the issue of appointing the aforementioned deputy chairmen? The prime minister asked you to reexamine your decision.

[Goncz] Only verbally. I cannot say no only half way.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] In such debates, the differences between the president of the republic and the prime minister, as well as the differences between the two biggest parties affect the public. What is your opinion about this?

[Goncz] My opinion is that occasional differences of views are inevitable between two people in such different offices: The presidential office was deliberately created to balance things, and the really powerful prime ministerial office deliberately created for operative measures. This has been absolutely natural ever since democracy emerged as a political form. I am aware of the way our prime minister thinks, we worked quite closely with each other at a certain time in our lives, and we started from the same party; therefore, I know his inspirations and his personality, and he also knows my personality. I do not want to use big words, but I can definitely speak of a mutual friendship that is not affected by possible disagreement on some specific issues.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Is this friendship still continuing?

[Goncz] Of course. We do not live under feudal conditions, and I do not think that he will lead an army against me tomorrow, or I will besiege his study with my army. However, I must say that I find it natural to say no to something that I find undesirable, and to do this within

my presidential authority guaranteed by the Constitution, without having to explain my credentials. I also recognize the right of the prime minister to try to convince me of his own truth. Naturally, I would welcome the strengthening of a desire for a consensus in the whole of the Hungarian society. Today, this is mostly affected by the general political mood, rather than by political practice.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] According to opinion polls, Arpad Goncz is Hungary's most popular politician. Do you think this would still be the case if you were active in the executive power? What do these opinion poll results mean for you?

[Goncz] These results give me some concern and an increase in my responsibility. I often come across expectations that I cannot fulfill because the Constitution does not allow me to do that. On the other hand, I would not take some steps even if people demanded that I take them, because I would threaten Hungary's stability. Therefore, this popularity also carries the possibility of lack of popularity and disappointment. Besides, it is possible that all this has two aspects: Not being a member of the executive power, I do not participate in implementing unpopular measures, but it is impossible to govern without unpopular measures. The other thing is my personality. I cannot help this, but I must admit that it feels good if people smile at me and love me. I am afraid of the St. Laszlo syndrome, namely that people sometimes think that I can heal by placing my hand on a wound. In any case, the opinion polls are interesting because one can continuously measure one's own status, and if one is popular, one knows what one can lose.

Reportage on Goncz Visit to Finland

WA2708163991

For Hungarian and Finnish reportage on the visit by President Arpad Goncz to Finland, including reports on his talks with President Mauno Koivisto, Prime Minister Esko Aho, and speaker of the Finnish parliament Ilkka Suominen, please see the Nordic Countries section of the 27 August West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

'Solidarity' Commission Approves Election Lists

AU2808093291 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Aug 91 pp 1, 2

[Tomasz Roguski report: "The 'Solidarity' List"]

[Text] On 21 August, the "Solidarity" National Commission approved district lists of candidates in connection with the parliamentary elections. A total of 198 persons in 32 constituencies will be seeking election to the Sejm from "Solidarity" lists, and 35 persons in 25 voivodships will be seeking election to the Senate.

The candidates include 24 members of the National Commission. Those standing for election to the Sejm include: Jan Rulewski in Bydgoszcz; Bogdan Boruszewicz in Gdansk; Stanislaw Weglarz in Lublin; Alojzy Pietrzyk, Tadeusz Jedynak, and Elzbieta Seferowicz in Katowice; Wlodzimierz Mokry in Gorzow; and Eugeniusz Szumiejko in Wroclaw. "Solidarity" candidates to the Senate include Andrzej Slowik in Lodz; Alina Pienkowska in Gdansk; and Maciej Bednarkiewicz in Skierniewice. There will be no Sejm or Senate candidates in five districts: District XVII Torun-Wloclawek; District XXX Przemysl-Krosno; District XXI Tarnow; District XXXII Nowy Sacz; and District XXXIII Krakow.

All the names submitted by district election committees were approved. In the case of Mark Markiewicz, currently vice president of the Radio and Television Committee, doubts were expressed about whether a person occupying such a high state office could stand as a candidate on a trade union list. However, the candidacy was approved when it was put to the vote. Similarly, some of the reservations that were voiced about several persons who hold senior positions in the administration or the economy were also resolved. The persons include the mayor of Kozuchow, the director of the voivodship labor bureau in Zielona Gora, a director of a state farm, and the director of a coal mine in Silesia.

The composition of a national union list was not decided, but it is known that it is to have as many as 100 persons. The candidates on the list are to be proposed by the regions according to the number of delegates sent to the "Solidarity" congress. Members of the National Commission are to be among the persons occupying the first few places on the list. The order in which names will appear on the national list will be determined by a 14-member National Commission team, which will include members of the union's National Election Committee. The list will receive final approval from the National Commission.

A proposal submitted by the National Inspection Commission concerning the setting of a ceiling on the number of candidates on "Solidarity" lists was rejected by a majority of one. According to the National Inspection Commission, this is called for by the resolution adopted at the third congress that talks about a limited number of candidates standing in the elections. On the other hand, a resolution was adopted providing a broader interpretation of the July National Commission decision banning members of political organizations from being candidates on "Solidarity" lists. It was decided that it was sufficient for a candidate to suspend party membership. This was proposed by delegates from the Mazowsze region, as several candidates in that region belong to the Center Accord. It is also known that a Lodz candidate left the Center Accord to appear on a "Solidarity" list.

It was decided that the National Election Committee will set limits on campaign expenditure in individual districts in a manner that will take account of reserves for their own activity. District election commissions will assume financial responsibility for any overstepping of these limits.

The National Commission gave its support to the striking work force at the "Star" Truck Factory in Starachowice and to demands made by the "Solidarity" commission in that plant. The National Commission calls on the government to make decisions that will solve the strike problem at Starachowice. It was decided that the National Commission would hold its 31 August meeting at Starachowice. Apart from matters relating to the "Star" strike, the commission will also discuss the "Solidarity" position on the government's industrial policy. Representatives of the government are to be invited to the session. The prime minister and union leader Marian Krzaklewski are to discuss the Starachowice strike on 23 August.

As a result of the government's failure to implement the law on wages in the state budget sphere during the first half of 1991, the National Commission decided to initiate a collective dispute with the government. The union will be represented by nine persons, including six members from the governing bodies of state budget sphere branch sections.

Walesa Refuses To Meet With Angry Pensioners

LD2708222391 Warsaw PAP in English 2120 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, aug. 27—President Lech Walesa refused to talk to a delegation of protesting pensioners in Warsaw on Tuesday as thousands of demonstrators showed no will to leave the courtyard of the Belvedere presidential palace despite appeals by the president and guards.

Several thousand of pensioners from different regions of Poland staged a rally in Warsaw at noon to protest against unemployment, too low retirement pays, too high prices and rents. The demonstrators first went to the office of the Council of Ministers and then marched to the Belvedere presidential palace, shouting "Down with the government," "Down with Walesa," "Traitors of the people," "We want bread."

"I agree that you can be discontented—I am not satisfied, either, but under such circumstances nobody can

work and nobody listens to arguments," Walesa told the angry pensioners and promised to talk to their delegation if other protesters leave the courtyard. The rally however remained there for another couple of hours and the talks never took place.

Earlier, a delegation of the protesting Council of Veterans of Labour at the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), the organizer of the rally, was received by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki to whom they handed over a petition with demands concerning retirement pays.

Presidential spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski called the incidents at the Belvedere Palace "a sign that certain political forces in Poland are not going to observe the rules of the political game."

Meanwhile, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers Krzysztof Zabinski sent a letter to OPZZ leader Alfred Miodowicz, announcing that he is going to sue the organizer of the rally, OPZZ, for violating law during the Tuesday demonstration.

Council Approves Presidium's Position on Baltics

LD2708163491 Warsaw PAP in English 1500 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 27—The Council of Ministers approved here Tuesday the stand of the government presidium on Poland's readiness to establish inter-state relations with the Baltic countries, as presented by the Polish foreign minister last Monday.

The cabinet authorized the foreign minister to continue work aimed to establish regular diplomatic relations with Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

Response to Moldova's Independence Proclamation

Iliescu Statement

AU2708181991 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] [Announcer] In connection with the proclamation of the Republic of Moldova's independence, Romanian President Ion Iliescu made the following solemn statement:

[Begin Iliescu recording] I would like to make a solemn statement, full of pathos, because the moment we are experiencing now is marked by solemnity and pathos. Today, 27 August 1991, a holiday for the entire Romanian nation, I would like to wholeheartedly congratulate our brothers and sisters across the Prut River, Mircea Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova, and all other friends in Moldova's leadership for the elevating gesture of fulfilling the ideal of the independence proclamation.

History, which has often been cruel and unmerciful to Romanians, has today turned its face toward us, too, making the dream we have carried in our souls come true. The Republic of Moldova is finally free and master of its destiny. It has fulfilled a holy and legitimate aspiration—faster than we thought—because the ardent desire for freedom nurtured by people throughout the European continent was stronger than force and diktat. Therefore, we are privileged to experience these historical moments and bow ourselves, with gratitude and respect, to the memory of our forefathers and to the great and the many who have made the supreme sacrifice to defend the soil of our pain, sorrow, and joy, the land of our forefathers' longing.

May tomorrow bring us all peace, so that we can begin building. May today's unity of Moldova's people continue to assert itself in the future, too.

We wish you, Moldovans, and we wish for us, all Romanians, that our Romanian language be spoken freely and that unity in thought and actual deed should stay with us for ever.

Roman Message

AU2708154491 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1208 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Message by Prime Minister Petre Roman on the occasion of the declaration of state independence of the Republic of Moldova, in Bucharest on 27 August—live]

[Text] A dream and an unbreakable desire of the Romanians—to make the ancient land independent—are coming true. It is coming true, and we are still convinced that the love for the land and the feeling of national dignity are stronger than any obstacles, and that they defeat time, defeat oppression, and defeat the forces of evil. Such forces were installed in the wicked year of 1940 in Europe. Communism and fascism, Stalinism and Nazism shook hands to conquer people and to destroy the souls and minds of people. Then, Romania was torn apart in its western part—in Transylvania— and in the east—in Moldova. Have we ever forgotten those sufferings? No, never. People have regained their freedom through struggle and sacrifices. Today, the winds of democracy and of people's and nations' rights are blowing over Eastern Europe, which was frozen after the war and was divided into the communist and the free worlds.

Let us trust our brothers in Moldova and the leaders of the Republic of Moldova, which becomes independent today, because they have started off on a road that is identical to our road. The barometer of history shows freedom, hope, truth, and beauty and the good things that we are building confidently, together.

At this hour of wonderful fulfillment, let us pay homage to those who fought and wished so much to live, but who are not here to rejoice with us. And at this same hour, let us pool our forces and rally in a great national effort to turn Romania into a free and prosperous country.

Roman Interviewed

LD2708204391 Paris Antenne-2 Television Network in French 1800 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman, in Bucharest, by correspondent J. Sannier, in the studio—live]

[Text] [Sannier] A largely Romanian territory annexed by the USSR in 1940, Moldova is going to do everything possible to become close to Romania again. Yesterday, the Moldovan president even spoke about reunification. Let us see straight away how this acceleration of history is perceived in Bucharest. Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman is with us live. So the first question is: I presume that you are the first ones to recognize Moldova.

[Roman] Yes, indeed, in fact we are the ones who recognized the Republic of Moldova first. This is quite natural.

[Sannier] Well, the Moldovans are waving Romanian flags. I presume you feel great pride at this?

[Roman] Quite, quite. We have experienced moments of deep emotion and great joy. It is quite natural; it follows logic. For once it follows the true logic of history, the correct logic of history, that which was so extensively distorted either by the communists or by the fascists, above all in 1940.

[Sannier] Mr. Roman, you have seen and heard the latest Moldovan declarations. They are already talking about reunification with Romania. Aren't they working a little fast?

[Roman] Talking is certainly a good thing, but to effect reunification is another matter. It must be said that this extraordinary battle has been won by the people, people that resisted forced Sovietization for over 40 years. Today, the people have made up their mind in favor of independence, and the Republic of Moldova is independent. When the people decide more than that, then it will be necessary to take account of this and move forward.

[Sannier] In the immediate future, it is mainly economic cooperation that must be discussed?

[Roman] Quite. It is not just economic cooperation, but a whole fabric of technical cooperation in several fields. It must not be forgotten that the Republic of Moldova has just been formed as a state, and we are ready to help the state institutions that have to be formed.

[Sannier] A last comment, Mr. Roman. King Mihai of Romania lives in exile in Switzerland. He believes that Romania is the only country in Europe, I am quoting his words, that he says still remains half-way between communism and democracy. What do you think of this. Didn't the revolution of 1989 go far enough in Romania?

[Roman] I say that this is untrue, because since December 1989—which was basically an anticommunist revolution, against the dictatorship, but also anticommunist—since that time we have travelled along a very long path of democracy. We have a whole range of democratic institutions, of economic and financial mechanisms that are the opposite of what communism left us. This is very important. A last point that, in my opinion, proves it indisputably is that an error such as the communists considered private property to be—well, Romania is perhaps the only country among the former communist countries that has a dual law, in fact, two short laws—a law for private property with regard to land, and a law for private property with regard to industry, trade, and tourism. Both operate, and this proves that from this point of view we are indeed among those countries that have finally broken with communism and that have not only gone toward democracy but are building this democracy; we are embracing it. In the end, we do not want anything else.

Government Declaration

AU2708150991 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1205 GMT 27 Aug 91

["Declaration of the Romanian Government" on Moldova's independence proclamation, read by Government Spokesman Mihnea Constantinescu in Bucharest on 27 August—live]

[Text] The Romanian Government has received with great pleasure the declaration of the parliament of the Republic of Moldova on the proclamation of the state independence of the republic. This decision, which is of paramount importance, is logically part of the process of democratic renewal and the process of dismantling communist totalitarian structures that are taking place in the USSR.

Romania's Government fulfills a noble duty when it hails the historic act of self-determination of the people of the Moldovan Republic and the fulfillment of their legitimate aspiration toward freedom, democracy, and national dignity.

The proclamation of an independent Romanian state on territories that were forcefully annexed as a result of secret understandings established by the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact represents a decisive step toward the elimination, through peaceful means, of its harmful consequences on the rights and interests of the Romanian people. While recognizing the independence of the Republic of Moldova, the Government of Romania declares that it is ready to proceed toward the establishment of diplomatic relations and grant the necessary support to the authorities of the Republic of Moldova for the consolidation of its independence, and to act for the development of relations of fraternal cooperation between Romanians on both sides of the Prut River. Romania's Government expresses its belief that all the other CSCE countries will grant their complete support to the new independent state, will receive it with open arms in the great family of European countries, and will accept it as an equal partner in the work of establishing a united Europe, based on the common values of democracy, freedom, and a state of law.

Bucharest, 27 August 1991.

FSN Issues Statement

AU2708184491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1714 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/8/1991—Through the vote of the Chisinau [Kishinev] parliament which proclaimed the independence of the Republic of Moldova the day of August 27 is for the history of the Romanian people the day of embarking on the road of fulfilling the profound aspirations of all the Romanians.

For all the Romanians on both sides of the Prut this is a political act of greatest importance occurring in the context of the collapse of communism in all the east European countries and, as recent developments have shown, in the Soviet Union, reads the August 27 statement of the National Salvation Front [FSN].

The proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Moldova is a first step towards correcting the aberrant territorial amputation under the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, the statement reads.

The decision of the Chisinau parliament is first of all the historic outcome of the faith of the Romanians in the Republic of Moldova in the identity of their national being, of the inner or open fight to preserve their existence as a nation resisting under the pressure of force for decades of oppression and alienation.

The National Salvation Front backed and backs the act of independence of the Republic of Moldova and asks that it be granted full support.

Romania must militate internationally for the recognition of the independence of the Republic of Moldova believing that this historic and political act is in full concordance with the principles of every people's independence, liberty and dignity and is a sine-qua- non of the development of nations in the contemporary world; it is beneficial to a manysided cooperation between the Romanian people and other peoples in a united Europe, the statement stresses.

Iliescu Views Soviet Coup Failure, Moldovan Ties

PM2708150091 Paris LE FIGARO in French 23 Aug 91 p 7

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Vladimir Ivanov in Bucharest—date not given]

[Text] [Ivanov] Following the announcement of the arrest of the putschists, what is your reaction to the outcome of the crisis in the USSR?

[Iliescu] It is general satisfaction. The great credit rests with Boris Yeltsin, who has become the symbol of popular resistance. I spoke to him on the telephone. He wants the people's forces to support the democratic process that has begun. According to the information he gave me, the putschists demonstrated deplorable irresponsibility. They asked Gorbachev for guarantees of their safety. He refused to give such guarantees, following which legal proceedings were begun by the USSR's general prosecutor.

[Ivanov] What future do you envisage for the USSR and Boris Yeltsin?

[Iliescu] Yeltsin has now become the strongest political figure in the Soviet Union. He enjoys immense political support, but I think that the Gorbachev-Yeltsin duo will work in the future.

[Ivanov] Do you think that the democrats' victory will be able to encourage a solution to Moldova's problems? Do you think that Romania and Moldova will be reunified some time in the future?

[Iliescu] For the time being, that is out of the question because the borders in Europe are inviolable. But in the future, the discussions can be conducted on the basis of the republics that comprise the USSR. Having said that, ties between Romania and Moldova are growing stronger each day.

[Ivanov] Should events in the USSR alter international relations in Europe?

[Iliescu] I spoke with President Mitterrand on Wednesday evening, and I sent a personal message to the Elysee through Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase. We must now draw political conclusions from these events—not only in the East European countries concerned, of course, but also in the developed countries. International solidarity, which had hitherto been limited, must become complete solidarity.

Federal

Presidency Session Resumes in Belgrade

LD2808123391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1055 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency session, which started yesterday, resumed work just after 1200 in the Palace of the Federation in Belgrade.

TANJUG has learned from the SFRY Presidency's Information Service that all members of the collective head of state are attending the session, apart from Branko Kostic who is on his way to Libya. The Federal Executive Council president, the president of the SFRY Assembly, the federal secretary for foreign affairs and his deputy, the federal secretary for justice and administration, and the deputy federal secretary for national defense are attending the session.

It has been unofficially announced that the Presidency will today discuss implementation of the cease-fire decision and some other related issues.

The Presidency session, in line with a well-established practice, is being held behind closed doors. It is expected that a statement for the public will be issued from the session.

Austrian Stance on Republican Independence Examined

LD2808083291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0602 GMT 28 Aug 91

[By Svetislav Maksovic]

[Text] Vienna, August 28 (TANJUG)—Austrian politicians have finally put their cards on the table. After Foreign Minister Alois Mock said that Austria would, if necessary, be the first country to recognize the independence of the Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia and after his instructions to ambassadors world-wide to recruit followers of the idea of quick recognition of independence of the two Yugoslav republics, even laymen have realized that there is nothing left of Austria's neutrality.

Analysts in Vienna say that Austria's intolerance towards one and sympathies for the other side in the fighting in Yugoslavia has deep roots which are not only based on 'unreserved support for the development of democracy in the balkans', as it is often said here.

'Austria has to take over the leading role in the Balkans', said the head of the liberal party parliamentary group, Norbert Gugerbauer.

Several days before the unsuccessful coup in the Soviet Union which has completely changed the political map of Europe, even Mock himself complained that some European Community countries do not trust Austria's policy in the Balkans, seeing in it 'lust for power and domination'. Less than a week later, analysts say, the scepticism proved to have been completely justified.

Although the times of great empires have long passed, it is very important to restore cultural, political and, especially, economic influence over former parts of the empire, an independent observer in Vienna said.

The abrupt change in Austria's policy towards Yugoslavia followed the unsuccessful coup in the Soviet Union. According to estimates in Vienna, the actual breakdown of the Soviet Union seems to have given the basis for the conclusion that the former superpower may never again be asked—although it is one of the signatories of the Austrian State Treaty in 1955—whether Austria could, by joining the European Community, abandon its obligatory neutrality.

Austria's Socialist Chancellor Franz Vranitzky on Tuesday told journalists that it would not be wise for Austria to be the first country to recognize the independence of Slovenia and Croatia. Several hours earlier, Mock had said something completely different, and that is now the basis of the new Austrian policy.

Austrians have their own strategy on the future developments in Yugoslavia and the settlement of its crisis. According to Gugerbauer, after Austria, and possibly some other countries, recognize Slovenia and Croatia, the United Nations should enter the scene. The U.N. Security Council would first be convened and then the 'blue helmets' would be sent to the Balkans.

Presidency Vice President Leaves for Libya

LD2808082591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0656 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic left for Libya today.

In Libya, Kostic will attend a celebration following the completion of the first phase of construction of a huge man-made river.

Forces Representatives Not at Presidency Session

LD2708202391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Report by Belgrade correspondent Dusko Mandic at the Yugoslav Presidency session—live]

[Excerpt] [Mandic] A Yugoslav Presidency session, chaired by Stipe Mesic, has started. Apart from Jusgolsav Kostic, state Presidency member from Vojvodina, all other members are attending the session. Armed Forces representatives are not at the session.

The Presidency is considering implementation of the decision on a cease-fire in Croatia. The session will also discuss a report by the state commission on events in

Okucani and a report by the Federal Internal Affairs Secretariat on the work of monitoring groups and Irfan Ajanovic's letter of resignation. It is expected that the Federal National Defense Secretariat will forward its reply to Dr. Tudjman's letter criticizing the Army conduct.

It is interesting to add that Democratic Party Chairman Dragoljub Micunovic informed the Yugoslav Presidency and President Stipe Mesic about a gathering in Sarajevo of representatives of all parliamentary parties of Yugoslavia, which represent some 15 million people. He told them that the next meeting, at which the parliamentary parties will put forward their proposals about a way out of the crisis, will be held in Sarajevo. Starting points have yet to be agreed on but will present the basis for further work.

President Mesic welcomed such initiatives and efforts to end armed conflicts in all areas. The session is under way.

[Unidentified announcer] Mr. Mandic, journalists usually find something from unofficial sources. Do you have any such information?

[Mandic] Yugoslav People's Army representatives are not at the session at the moment. It is possible that they are negotiating with Croatian representatives—with whom and where we do not know. [passage omitted]

Croatian, Army Leaders Discuss Peace Efforts

LD2708210691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] At the beginning of the news, we said that talks between the Croatian leadership and representatives of the Army leadership are underway. We have just received a brief report about what has happened in 130 minutes of talks. Both sides agreed that efforts for a real and monitored truce should be intensified. Efforts will be invested in talks about a political settlement of the future Yugoslavia, and a solution will be reached in the shortest possible time. All means of implementing the cease-fire have not been exhausted yet.

Croatian, YPA Delegations Open Brioni Talks

LD2708190491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1810 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Brioni, August 27 (TANJUG)—Members of the top leadership of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia and highest Yugoslav Army officers opened talks on the Adriatic island of Brioni on Tuesday evening.

The Croatian delegation is headed by the Republic's president Franjo Tudjman and the Army delegation by Federal Defence Secretary General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic.

The talks are devoted to the current situation in Croatia.

Cease-Fire Commission Issues Statement

LD2708175691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Aug (tANJUG)— A session was held in Belgrade today of the commission of the SFRY Presidency for the supervision of the cease-fire in the Republic of Croatia, presided over by commission Chairman Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency.

The commission considered and adopted a report establishing the facts of the situation concerning the armed clashes in Okucani and a report on the activities so far of the joint groups of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs for controlling the cease-fire on the territory of the Republic of Croatia and the problems arising in implementing the decision of the SFRY Presidency of 3 August. The commission has sent these reports to the SFRY Presidency.

The commission was informed about the situation in the crisis regions and the cease-fire violations in the Republic of Croatia. It was stated that in the past few days there has been an escalation of armed clashes in all crisis regions, particularly in Slavonia, Banija, and Dalmatia.

The commission was also informed that the armed conflicts are spreading to the border areas of Bosnia-Hercegovina. In this connection, attention was drawn to armed attacks, including mortar fire, in the region of Bosanska Gradiska, and to the fact that armed formations of the Republic of Croatia had crossed over to the territory of the Velika Kladusa municipality and opened fire in the immediate vicinity of the town. On that occasion, two people were wounded, one of whom later died.

The commission assessed that the regular activities of the Yugoslav People's Army are being increasingly hampered, with an increasingly pronounced orientation toward broadening attacks on its units and facilities, so that it is forced to respond to the attacks.

The commission again noted that the decision of the SFRY Presidency on an absolute and unconditional cease-fire is not being observed on a growing area of the Republic of Croatia, despite the fact that both warring parties have accepted the decision. The commission can only successfully carry out its responsible function if there exists the political will and readiness of the parties in the conflict to observe the cease-fire.

On the basis of this development of events, particularly the increasingly widespread violations of the cease-fire and the spread of conflicts to new areas, the following stances and proposals were adopted:

1. The commission has concluded that there is no alternative to the decision of the SFRY Presidency on an absolute and unconditional cease-fire. The cease-fire is

the condition for the commission to be able to continue with the implementation of its other tasks set by the SFRY Presidency.

2. The commission proposes that the SFRY Presidency urgently organize a meeting of a working group composed of members of the SFRY Presidency and the most responsible representatives of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, together with the president of the Republic of Croatia and the relevant representatives of the Government of the Republic of Croatia with the aim of examining the problems that have arisen and finding solutions for reestablishing the cease-fire. It is also suggested that similar talks should be held with the most responsible representatives of the Serbian nation from the crisis regions of the Republic of Croatia.

3. In order to secure a lasting cease-fire, the commission proposes to the SFRY Presidency that it conclude its work on drawing up a draft political agreement on the future organization of relations in the country within the shortest possible deadline and that, in the next week, a session of the SFRY Presidency be organized in which the presidents of the republics, or presidents of the republican presidencies, and top officials of the Federation should take part.

4. The commission assesses that following the refusal of SFRY Presidency member Janez Drnovsek to take part in the work of the commission and the resignation from the commission of Irfan Ajanovic, vice president of the SFRY Assembly, it is necessary for the SFRY Presidency to adopt a decision on making up the numbers of the commission with new members. It also proposes that representatives of the Government of the Republic of Croatia and representatives of the Serbian nation from the crisis areas in this Republic should also take part in the work of the commission.

5. The commission also examined the question of the possible involvement of foreign observers in accordance with point four of the decision of the SFRY Presidency of 3 August. It was assessed that conditions for this have still been created, because an absolute and unconditional cease-fire is an essential condition for consideration of the possibility and need to involve these observers.

Assessing that it is essential to take urgent measures to halt all armed conflicts and prevent further bloodshed, the commission considers that the realization of these stances and proposals, particularly points two and three, will contribute more quickly to a cease-fire and observance of the decisions of the SFRY Presidency. The commission proposes that a session of the SFRY Presidency take place and that it should examine all the issues raised.

Army-Croatian Talks Urge Further Peace Efforts

LD2708213691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2059 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Brioni, 27 Aug (TANJUG)—All efforts should be intensified to reach a real truce. Parallel with this, it is necessary to make efforts to start talks on finding political solutions for the future of Yugoslavia. This was said this evening at Brioni following two-hour talks between the delegations of the Republic of Croatia and the Army.

The Yugoslav People's Army delegation was headed by Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, and the Croatian delegation was headed by President Franjo Tudjman. The talks at Villa Jadranka in Brioni lasted for two hours and 15 minutes. Colonel-General Blagoje Adzic, Admiral Stane Brovet, Admiral Bozidar Grubisic, and Colonel Vuk Obradovic comprised the Army delegation. President Franjo Tudjman, Josip Manolic, president of the crisis headquarters, Defense Minister Luka Bebic, and Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the republican president's cabinet, comprised the Croatian delegation.

At a brief news conference in Brioni, Hrvoje Sarinic and Vuk Obradovic said in connection with the truce that some mechanisms are already in operation, but not all have been deployed and intensive efforts should be invested in this.

Sarinic announced that President Tudjman will hold a news conference upon his arrival in Zagreb.

Croatia

Tudjman To Meet Mitterrand in Paris 28 August

LD2808011591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0208 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Paris, Aug 27 (TANJUG)—French President Francois Mitterrand will on Wednesday morning receive the president of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, who requested the meeting. It is claimed that Mitterrand will shortly also meet with the president of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic.

This is the first time that the French president is receiving the presidents of the Yugoslav republics. Although the possibility of France taking a more direct mediatory role in the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis is not being excluded in Paris, there have been no official confirmations of this either in the foreign ministry or the government.

Foreign Minister Roland Dumas proposed at the extraordinary meeting of the foreign ministers of the 12 European Community (EC) member-countries in Brussels on Tuesday that a special council be formed which would consist of two EC representatives and one representative each of the Yugoslav federation, the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Croatia.

The five-member group could jointly propose concrete measures for halting the armed conflicts and resolving the crisis in Yugoslavia.

There have been no official comments in Paris on Dumas' initiative, but it is being interpreted in observer circles as an expression of France's resolve that the international community, above all the EC and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, should more energetically undertake new mediatory missions, since efforts so far have not yielded results.

Tudjman Hopes for Visit

LD2808085891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman left for Paris on a one-day visit to France where he will have talks with French President Francois Mitterrand. Replying to a question about what Croatia can expect from his visit to France today and whether he will ask for official recognition of Croatia, President Tudjman stated for HINA [CROATIAN INFORMATION NEWS AGENCY]: In any case, we expect more understanding for Croatia's position. We think that the fact that France has recently showed not only interested but has also presented proposals in favor of Croatia will be strengthened after this visit.

President Tudjman News Conference 27 Aug

LD2708235791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2126 GMT 27 Aug 91

[News conference by President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb with unidentified correspondents on his return from the 27 August Yugoslav People's Army-Croatian talks in Brioni—live]

[Excerpts] [Tudjman] The talks were exhaustive. We presented our views on the political situation in Yugoslavia, on the war in Croatia, our view on the role of the Army, and General Kadijevic and the others presented their views. There are significant differences in points of departure and in opinions, but I was nevertheless able to conclude from the talks what is essential, that the Army is calling for the realization of a cease-fire, a truce, and for a political solution to be reached as soon as possible. That is what we agreed on. Everything else was fairly conflicting, with regard to our views on the situation in the country and on the role of the Army and the possibility of finding a solution.

However, a certain hope nevertheless remains that it may perhaps be possible to avoid the spread of the war which has been imposed on Croatia. The generals reiterated—let us see it in practice—that the Army will not shoot first. We presented to them our evidence. Whether anything will change after our meeting in this respect, we will see. In any event, I am calling now on the defense forces of Croatia not to initiate conflicts with the Yugoslav Army.

Before I left there were many telephone calls asking why I was going, whether there was any point in talking, so let me take this opportunity to say: I discussed and I will discuss whenever I think that it might contribute to saving the life of even one Croat, not to mention the tens of thousands or hundred thousand which could perish in a general war. Regardless of who my collocutors are, and I must talk with [word indistinct], I must talk, and that is the reason why I went. Whether I will continue to conduct similar talks will depend on my judgment as to whether they can serve the same end, of avoiding if possible further human sacrifices and the further destruction of Croatian villages and towns, without, naturally, desisting from the aim of achieving full Croatian sovereignty and independence. [passage omitted]

[Tudjman] These questions are slightly simplified. We did not say that the deadline [preceding word in English] expires on Saturday, and that this will be the day the Yugoslav Army will be expelled from Croatia. This is the day we will undertake steps in line with our demands, unless we get positive answers.

Second, it has not been said—and if someone said it, then he was not empowered to do so—that the general mobilization in Croatia will start tomorrow. Mobilization will start when we judge that the time is right, and to a degree we judge right, but, of course, in connection with the 31 August deadline, and then we will make a necessary decision in line with our concrete plans and goals.

[Correspondent] Who initiated today's meeting?

[Tudjman] The federal government made the initiative.

[Correspondent] Why?

[Tudjman] So we could find a solution through talks. I would like to add, if you allow me, I proposed that representatives of the federal presidency and government also come to the talks. But those at the top federal level could not reach an agreement about this.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, does this agreement mean that we have moved away from naming our enemy, i.e. the aggressor, that is, that we have moved away from saying that the federal army is an army of occupation?

[Tudjman] We are not further from what our, I mean my, demand to the Yugoslav Presidency stated. We have said that the Republic of Serbia is the aggressor and that the aggression is supported by the Army. [passage omitted: Tudjman invited by the French President to visit France tomorrow; he asked about assurances that the Army will not open fire first] The top Army representatives have given assurances that the army will not attack and open fire first. I say: Let us see. [preceding phrase in English]

[Correspondent] Will Croatia receive international recognition?

[Tudjman] [Words indistinct] Unfortunately there are still some big countries that believe that solutions should

be sought through negotiations, as if we did not conduct negotiations for a year. But, in past few days, some countries indicated that they would recognize the Republic of Croatia, as well as Slovenia. In connection with this, there are bilateral contacts between me and other statesmen, and other representatives of the Croatian government, and I believe that we are on this road, that we are very near international recognition.

[Correspondent] Can you tell us something more, Mr. President, about the differences in points of departure, in view of the situation in Croatia? With regard to your statement that, as a man of experience you know what stands behind promises, can Croatia sleep easily this evening, without waiting for an attack by the Army, at least for the time being? And the second question is whether the Army saw the Croatian side's evidence, not on who attacked first, because I assume that [words indistinct] but about the violation of international norms, such as for example cluster bombs, the bombing of the civilian population, hospitals, and what the Army said in response to this obvious evidence?

[Tudjman] The differences in points of departure amount to the fact that the leadership of the Army considers that they are a Yugoslav army, and that therefore they have to adhere to the Yugoslav Constitution and defend Yugoslavia, but as we know, such a Yugoslavia, in which they (?originated), no longer exists. The constitution they refer to no longer exists, and was first of all violated by Serbia with its abolition of autonomy in Vojvodina and Kosovo. There the Army was not even what could be called a passive observer. So this is one of the essential differences. The difference also lies in the fact that we believe the Army should be inside the barracks and not outside the barracks, and that the Army should wait and adjust to the political solutions, and not attempt to be an active factor in these solutions. Although, I have to stress, the Army is again stressing that it will uphold the political solutions which are achieved, and that the Army has not undertaken anything on its own without a decision from its supreme commander, that is, the presidency. And, of course, there are some differences here, too, on the character and possibilities of such a presidency as it was after the abolition of the provinces and the [word indistinct] of the real representatives, legitimate representatives of the provinces.

On the second question, I believe that Croatia can sleep easily inasmuch as it need not expect some general attack by the Army in order to bring down the Croatian democratic government. They repeated that they have claimed this and still claim it, and that practice has shown this. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] How long can Croatia continue on this road? How long can the Croat people continue to suffer?

[Tudjman] Croatia will suffer and endure all sacrifices as long as it is necessary for Croatia to liberate itself and achieve its sovereignty and independence. I have already said that we shall try to achieve these goals with the least possible sacrifice, but I said on several occasions—and I can see it from your question—that, if it is necessary we shall achieve Croatia's sovereignty and independence irrespective of sacrifices. But we shall do everything to prevent casualties and destruction.

[Correspondent] I did not understand whether you have reached an agreement with the Army or if you agreed on the principle that the crisis should be resolved peacefully. In connection with this, if cease-fire violations occur tomorrow, does this mean that the Army is not observing agreements or that it is not controlling all its units?

[Tudjman] It could be both. I agree, it could be also something else. [passage omitted]

Three Mortar Shells Launched on Skradin

LD2808075291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0730 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Around 0630 this morning three mortar shells were launched on Skradin. So far there has not been an material damage or casulaties. The crisis headquarters in Sibenik, which informed us of this, says it is again the army of occupation which stands behind this attack and thus openly supports Chetniks in this area. This is the second mortar attack on Skradin over the past month. Villages in the area of Skradin have so far been exposed every day to attacks from mortars, cannon, and other light and heavy weapons in the army's possession.

'Serious Fighting' Continues in Eastern Croatia

LD2808075491 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0700 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Serious fighting in the eastern part of Croatia is continuing. The Yugslav Army again shot at Vukovar in eastern Slavonija, which is encircled. The deputy director of the Osijek hospital said 86 dead have been brought in, and 10-fold that number are injured. [passage omitted]

Hrastovica Attacked; Sunja Transformer Knocked Out

LD2808080391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0600 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Around 2300 last night Hrastovica, a village near Petrinja, was attacked with gun, cannon, and mortar fire from well- fortified Greater Serbian positions. Three grenades were launched, a little later four more grenades were fired from the direction of Drljace toward Sunja. Then, six grenades were launched on the neighboring village of (?Zrene). At the same time, a powerful explosion in Sunja damaged a power transformer station which left the post office and a local office without electricity. 82 mm and 120-mm caliber mortar grenades were launched from the village of Majske Poljane at the village of Prekopa. According to initial details, there have not been any casualties.

'Violent Fighting' Reportedly Begins in Vukovar

AU2808085491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Report by VECERNJE NOVOSTI journalist Milena Markovic from Vukovar]

[Text] Some 10 minutes ago, violent fighting began in Vukovar. Armored mechanized units of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] that are securing important roads were attacked with mortar fire from the direction of Vucedol and (?Satin), where strong forces of the National Guard Corps are stationed.

As we have learned, an attack against the barracks that were (?blocked) by guardsmen and armed civilians yesterday is expected any minute. The barracks are located in the populated part of the city, which is making it difficult for the unit protecting them to act.

The (?war) headquarters of the unit of the YPA expects the conflict to escalate further. According to some information received in (?Satin), from where the mortar fire was opened, a building owned by Halid (?Numali) in which about 80 members of the National Guard Corps were stationed has been destroyed.

Vukovar Radio has just reported that about 5,000 guardsmen are getting ready to attack the barracks. This report, of course, is not necessarily true.

Seven Tanks Attack Vukovar

LD2808091291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0830 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Around 0900 fresh attacks by the Serbian army of occupation on Vukovar started. The attack started from the direction of Ilok, and seven tanks which arrived near Vukovar during the night are taking part in the attack. Immediately at the beginning of the attack a Croatian Radio - Vukovar Studio transmitter was destroyed in order that the truth about the crime by the Serbian army should not reach the world. Tanks could not enter the town because they would have had to cross over mined areas. The attack is under way at the moment and units stationed in Vojvodina shooting from multi-barrel missile launchers are also taking part. Defenders were on the alert and have already managed to put one tank out of action.

Relative Quiet Reported in 'Crisis Areas'

LD2808104791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0929 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, Osijek, August 28 (TANJUG)—It was relatively quiet in the crisis areas in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia last night.

Radio Croatia reported this morning that 'several Croatian villages in the Banija region had been attacked with mortar fire,' but that there were no casualties.

With the exception of several mortars which were fired on Vukovar (Eastern Slavonija) in the evening hours, there were no larger armed conflicts.

Reports of a relatively quiet night in Croatia, with sporadic shooting and explosions, have been confirmed by Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) sources.

Croatian radio reports that 'Croatian defence forces' have destroyed six tanks, four trucks, one armoured personnel carrier and one multiple rocket launcher in the vicinity of Vukovar.

Radio Croatia claims that the 'occupying army' has sustained many dead and wounded, and that morale is low. The same report states further that '17 soldiers and one JNA officer have surrended with full equipment.'

The command of the JNA garrison in Osijek (the largest town in Slavonija) has categorically denied these reports and has repeated that no soldiers were killed or wounded or that equipment was lost in the battles around Vukovar. The Osijek garrison has also denied reports of the alleged surrender of 17 soldiers and one officer.

The Osijek garrison command has reiterated that the army is only returning fire and that it has not undertaken any offensive actions against Vukovar, and that the battles had been fought between armed Serbs from neighbouring settlements and the Croatian police and guard.

Radio Reports on 'Decisive Battle' for Vukovar

AU2808105091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] After some armed provocations against the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], a battle began this morning at about 0900, which is, by its very size, a decisive battle for the defense of Vukovar. The battle was joined in by the units for the defense of Borovo Selo, Dalj, Trpinja, Bobota, Brsadin, Vera, Pacetin, and other Serbian villages.

The forces of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and the National Guard Corps yesterday announced a blockade of and an attack against the barracks of the Vukovar Garrison of the YPA for today at 1200. However, the people in the barracks are ready to defend themselves and it is possible that the action will be joined in by strong armored and mechanized forces of the YPA.

Croatian TV Crew Fired On; Two Wounded

LD2808122991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Excerpt] A Croatian television Osijek studio crew was attacked today around noon near the Osijek suburb of

Brest. Shots were fired at them from a personnel carrier. On this occasion, two people were wounded: Dragan Kricka, sound recordist, and Zarko Kajic, cameraman. [passage omitted]

Roundup on Osijek Area Fighting

LD2808160191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1425 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, Osijek, Aug 28 (TANJUG)—Fighting was resumed this morning in the neighbourhood of the eastern Slavonian town of Vukovar, in which a strong Croatian force is stationed.

While Croatian radio claimed that Vukovar had been attacked from the direction of Ilok and the Serb village of Negoslavci, Osijek garrison sources said army units in the vicinity of Vukovar had come under attack from Sotin, east of Vukovar.

The army sources said the fighting around Vukovar continued and the army had had no casualties so far.

Radio Belgrade said the fighting had begun around 9 A.M. and that Serbs from the neighbouring villages were taking part.

The head of the crisis headquarters for eastern Slavonia and Baranja, Vladimir Seks, told a news conference in Osijek today that "31 tanks, six aircraft, 12 armoured personnel carriers and one multiple rocket launcher have been destroyed" around Vukovar.

He said "some 300 serb terrorists and members of the army of occupation" had been killed.

The command of the Osijek garrison and other sources quoted by TANJUG claimed no soldier had either killed or wounded and no vehicle destroyed near Vukovar.

Serb sources in the villages near Vukovar still have no reliable information on casualties.

It is still not known how many people have been killed and wounded in Vukovar and Borovo Naselje, in which a strong Croatian police and guards force is stationed.

According to Seks, all approaches to Osijek are blocked and mined. He repeated that the crisis headquarters adhered to its decision to cut water and electricity to the Osijek garrison.

The Osijek garrison command said yesterday it would ensure regular supplies "at all costs". The army yesterday cleared a barricade near the village of Jasenovo.

Two soldiers and two officers from the Osijek garrison were wounded when their armoured personnel vehicle carrying food for a unit in Tenje village hit a mine near the village of Brijest, the Tuzla corps sources said.

They said the mine had been planted by Croatian police and guardsmen.

Croatian armed forces are also preventing supplies from reaching the garrison at Vinkovci by laying mines, the Tuzla corps sources said.

TANJUG, Croatian radio and Radio Belgrade all said the night in the crisis areas had been quiet.

This has also been confirmed by army sources.

In the region of Kninska Krajina, the situation was also reported mainly calm. But Serb sources said Croatian police "brutally murdered" two Serbs near Licko Petrovo Selo last night.

Croatian Troops Withdraw From Kijevo, Vrlika

LD2708173191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Split, 27 Aug (TANJUG)—Civljani was not captured; army and police formations of the Republic of Croatia withdrew to their reserve positions from Kijevo and Vrlika after fierce battles yesterday.

This was officially confirmed today in the crisis headquarters for northern and middle Dalmatia, and it was stressed that it would be wrong to say that the two bastions of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry were captured, but "the Croatian forces only carried out a tactical withdrawal to prevent futile casualties among the people."

The crisis headquarters for Dalmatia says that, after half of Civljani was captured yesterday morning and the Croatian banner was raised there, the "air force intervened, which together with terrorists attacked both Kijevo and Vrlika." Since they have much stronger weapons, the Croatian formations had to withdraw not only from the Serbian Civljani but also from Croatian Kijevo and even from Vrlika, in Sinj municipality.

Kijevo and Vrlika villages, the crisis headquarters says, are completely deserted today. There are neither inhabitants nor Croatian soldiers seen there today. Around 300 people, mostly Croats, including children from an institution for the mentally disabled in Vrlika, left Vrlika and arrived in Split, while ethnic Serbian inhabitants of Vrlika most probably moved out to Knin.

Although the crisis headquarters says that Kijevo "was entirely demolished by the army of aggression" and uses serious words like "massacre over the innocent civilian population," "genocide over the population in Kijevo and Vrlika," "crime about which Europe must be informed," etc., today it is impossible to obtain details on casualties inflicted in these fierce battles. The only certain detail is that, in these battles in Vrlika, one guardsman was killed and one was wounded. There are seven wounded people, including two soldiers, who are being treated in the medical center in Split, Goran Dodig, head of the center, said, but they sustained injuries during armed conflict in Sinj on 25 August.

According to the latest details, broadcast by Radio Split, the Croatian guardsmen and policemen left their reserve positions this afternoon and are heading toward the border with Krajina into Vrlika, which they left yesterday. At the same time, we have received a report from Sinj saying that at around 1600 the army set off for the Serbian village of Otisic, in Sinj municipality, which the Croatian formations have "purged" recently, as stated, causing no casualties.

Croatian Paper Assails YPA as 'Aggressor'

LD2708185391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1008 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, August 27 (TANJUG)—The Zagreb daily VJESNIK today writes that "it is high time that everyone, in every part of Yugoslavia, according to abilities—demonstrations, petitions, demands and appeals—oppose the madness".

The paper, published in the capital in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, points out that "so many people are directly or indirectly involved in the tragic events in Croatia that no one can be exempt from responsibility".

The commentary describes the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] as an "aggressor" and warns that this "aggressor will no longer be able to act unpunished in Croatia".

"With morale, better organization and better weapons, Croatia is now ready to return every blow and punish every aggression", the paper writes, warning the Yugoslav army leadership of its "responsibility for each and every killed soldier and devastated village".

Number of Wounded in Vukovar Reaches 83

LD2708185891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Summary] Attacks on Vukovar are continuing. "In the fresh wave of disinformation, some truths can be discerned. The jointly disorganized hostile attack that has already lasted three days has caused numerous casualties among the civilian population. A total of 83 wounded have been brought to Vukovar hospital, 12 during the course of today, of whom only one was kept for treatment; his life is not in danger. One member of the National Guard corps, Ivica Kaposi, and two civilians, Jakob Miljan and Biljka Zaradovic, have died. The material losses of the Army are five planes, 21 tanks, seven armored cars, four trucks and—according to unconfirmed reports—one patrol boat, and there were more losses during the course of the day."

Navy Denies Initiating Dalmation Armed Conflicts

LD2708191191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1808 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Split, August 27 (TANJUG)—The command of the naval district of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) said today that its units had not initiated the armed conflicts which took place in northern Dalmatia and the region of Knin in the republic of Croatia.

The command statement said that the crisis headquarters of the armed forces of Croatia for central and northern Dalmatia were responsible for the conflicts in the towns of Vrlika, Sinj and Kijevo in the mentioned regions of Croatia.

"Our units did not initiate the conflicts in any way, they did not open fire first in any instant, they were always attacked first and forced to defend themselves," the statement said.

The flight of a sports plane was used by the crisis headquarters of the armed forces of Croatia to raise a false alarm and to open fire at the army barracks facilities. When the army returned fire, it was presented to the public that Sinj and its population were under attack, the statement said.

The naval command informs the population of Split and Dalmatia that a "frantic campaign" against the JNA was still in effect in its territory and that attacks on and provocations of military units and facilities had been stepped up in the past three days.

On Sunday, August 25, the water and power supply to all military facilities were cut off, telephone lines were disconnected and approaches to barracks and other facilities blocked.

On Sunday and Monday, it was further said, the naval units were not allowed to obtain food, and the supply of bread was cut off to the emergency military hospital for the territory of Split and its vicinity.

Following an intervention with the responsible authorities, these sanctions against the military units and facilities of the naval district were only partly lifted, the statement said, and almost all military facilities remain under blockade, and telephone lines connecting the facilities are still cut.

That is why the naval district command has sent a demand to the crisis headquarters of the armed forces of Croatia to lift all these sanctions and actions against the army because its members will be forced, as said, to resort to strong countermeasures.

POLITIKA Office in Zagreb Attacked 27 Aug

LD2808152591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1439 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—The Zagreb office of POLITIKA newspaper, which is located in the city center, was again attacked ast night.

As yet unidentified perpetrators broke a reinforced window with a large piece of concrete. The office inside was also damaged. A similar attack on the POLITIKA Zagreb office was carried out more than a month ago.

Tanks, Infantry, Air Force in Vukovar Attack

AU2808152591 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Report by Mirko Stankovic]

[Excerpt] Fighting in the Vukovar area has recently moved to the towns, particularly to Borovo Naselje. A real artillery war, in which higher caliber weapons were also used, was waged all day yesterday. Therefore, the consequences were greater and more serious.

Several (?buildings) caught fire, and the number of casualties is growing daily. It is thought that in the last three days some 30 people have lost their lives. Some people think that this number could be significantly greater.

At about 2130 last night, there were several exchanges of mortar fire between Borovo Naselje and Borovo Selo. (?Mortar fire) also came from other Serbian villages on several occasions. Shots from infantry weapons were also heard.

In comparison with the last two nights, however, all this was a (?lullaby). At 0810, after artillery and mortar practice, members of the defense of Serbian villages launched a strong attack. The strong forces of the Yugoslav People's Army also started to break the blockade around the Vukovar barracks. The attack came from two directions: from the village of Sotin and the village of Negoslavci.

In addition to strong tank and other mechanized units and infantry, the Yugoslav Air Force is also participating in the operation, attacking and destroying the defense positions and machine gun nests of the members of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and the National Guard Corps. During the operation, the medium-wave radio transmitter of Vukovar radio on Jakobovac was taken. The station stopped broadcasting local radio programs.

Battles are also being waged around Borovo Naselje, where intensified activities with new forces of the defense of numerous Serbian villages around Vukovar is expected to take place.

Judging by the current situation, the town is completely encircled and the chances of its defenders escaping are very slim. [Word indistinct] were also exploding in Osijek, especially in the Visnjevac suburb. Several of them were also heard near the suburbs of (?Jug) and Orlovaca. There is considerable damage but no casualties. [passage omitted]

Serbia

More Violence Reported in Kosovo Town of Decani

AU2708180591 Pristina BUJKU in Albanian 23 Aug 91 p 2

[C.M. report: "Worsening Violence"]

[Text] Pan-Slavic violence is continuing in the commune of Decani. It is an everyday phenomenon for the Serbian police to beat and maltreat innocent Albanian citizens. A new method has been observed in police action on the basis of "black lists" compiled by Serbian leaders and individuals filled with hatred and chauvinism. Albanians, especially those passing through with cars, trucks, and horse-drawn carts, are beaten and maltreated at all hours in the center of Decani, where a militia patrol is permanently stationed. The Serbian police not only impose fines but commit acts of theft and seize documents of various kinds, such as driving licenses, passports, etc. This obliges the individual to report later to the police station, where he is again subjected to violence and reprisals.

Many Albanians have suffered in this way, including Xheladin and Muhamed Zekaj from the village of Carrabreg i Eperm, Naser Tolaj from Pobergje, Zenun Shala from Dubovik, and others. All these people were beaten in the cruelest way, causing severe bodily injuries, including injuries to sensitive organs such as the kidneys. Children, women, and the elderly are also being beaten and maltreated. Sand and other construction materials are often seized from private trucks; the drivers are forced to unload them in the yard of the Serbian church in the village of Tatishe e Ulet, on which work began a few days ago. The laying of the church's foundation stone was another provocation, because participants in the ceremony, including the police, said outright that Kosovo is Serbian land and the Albanians have no place there, etc. Chetnik songs were sung and automatic rifles were fired, after the foundation stone was laid and throughout the night.

Some local policemen have begun to say openly that they will murder and liquidate the Albanians. Police patrols among the villages often ask which are so-and-so's children, and where so-and- so's house is, and people on the "black lists" are under constant surveillance. Unfortunately, the police have in some places acquired collaborators, who work for them without the slightest shame. However, this old UDBA [abbreviation of former title of the Yugoslav State Security Administration] method is not meeting any success, because these suborned people cannot infiltrate society in the same way as in the 1956 campaign. The Albanian people watch their every step, and anyone who thinks that his work goes unseen deceives himself, because the Albanians now need unity more than ever.

Drunken policemen and reservists are evident, especially at night, in Decani and in some villages with mixed populations. They beat, manhandle, and rob Albanians. Volleys of automatic rifle fire can be heard in the streets of Decani, Lloqan, and some other villages almost every night. One hears the sirens and alarms of the vehicles of the police and other formations. In the Decani Communal Assembly, the so-called Executive Committee has forbidden the entry of "suspicious" persons, even when they apply for documents they require, which is an elementary right guaranteed by the Constitution.

The police, accompanied by the sanitary inspector, today placed five Albanian tradesmen's shops under lock and key, at the same time beating and maltreating some employees and passers-by. The Serbian "law-governed state" is also peremptorily demanding Albanian firms to write their signs in Cyrillic, and their shops are threatened with closure if this is not done within one week. The proprietors of the Malesia Cafe in Decani were also manhandled when the police removed photographs of Tito and various distinguished Albanian personalities. Today Yugoslav Army formations were positioned in front of the building of the Communal Assembly. Three vehicles and a number of armed soldiers were placed on guard in the courtyard. Because of the worsening violence and the increasingly harsh reprisals, whose purpose is well known, the Albanian political parties in the commune appeal for patience and prudence.

Foreign Minister Jovanovic Criticizes Germany

AU2808115191 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 28 Aug 91 p 10

[Interview with Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Jens Reuter from the Southeast Institute in Belgrade "a few days ago": "Forces That Want To Split, Weaken, and Disintegrate Yugoslavia"]

[Text] [Reuter] How do you assess the present German foreign policy?

[Jovanovic] I had the honor and the opportunity to get to know Foreign Minister Genscher when I was the head of the West European Department in the Foreign Ministry years ago. And I personally appreciate very much his foreign policy judgment and his indisputable services when an end was put to the cold war in Europe. However, I believe that in the assessment of Serbia's policy and real objectives within and outside Yugoslavia, Foreign Minister Genscher was briefed from an one-sided point of view or was even misinformed. Serbia did very much for the process of democratization in Yugoslavia by challenging the conservatives and backward-oriented politicians in the former League of Communists or by even removing them from their positions. Serbia has always advocated equal rights of the peoples and republics in Yugoslavia. As a matter of fact, we would have deserved praise for this from a democratic country like Germany. Instead we have been pilloried. Serbia has done nothing and is doing nothing that aims at making Yugoslavia smaller or at terminating its existence as a country. Serbia has always fulfilled its duty according to the federal constitution, but also according to relevant CSCE documents.

[Reuter] Slovenia and Croatia refer to the people's right to self-determination. What is your comment on this?

[Jovanovic] If Slovenia and Croatia want to leave the Yugoslav federation, Serbia will be the last republic to prevent this. However, Serbia demands that these republics do not exercise their right to self-determination unilaterally, but in agreement with the other Yugoslav republics. If this right to self-determination is applied, it also must be valid for the Serbs in Croatia who want to stay in Yugoslavia and do not want to leave this country. The whole problem and the whole crisis was not provoked by Serbia or the Serbs living in Croatia, but by Croatia's secessionist policy, which wants to lead the Serbs out of Yugoslavia by force.

[Reuter] Why were you so much disappointed at the German attitude in particular?

[Jovanovic] Regarding the sympathies that Foreign Minister Genscher expresses toward Slovenia and Croatia, we find it extremely difficult to understand such a point of view, particularly since Germany rightly strove for reunification for 40 years. We find it especially hard to understand that precisely a country that was divided and knows what this means today shows sympathies for forces that want to split and weaken Yugoslavia and cause it to disintegrate. We can understand it even less that the German Federal Government only favors one of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, that is, the right to self-determination, while it completely neglects the other principles. Among them is also the principle to respect territorial integrity and, in addition, the principle of the inviolability of borders and of noninterference in internal affairs. These principles are also very important. And it is not a coincidence that they were again confirmed by the CSCE conference. All these principles—there are 10 altogether—have to be seen as a unitary whole and not in isolation from each other.

[Reuter] Within the EC, possible economic sanctions against Serbia were also mentioned.

[Jovanovic] Regarding the economic and other sanctions, which are apparently also advocated by Germany and the foreign minister himself, my comment is as follows: after all that they had to go through in history, the two peoples—Serbs, as well as Germans, should forget forever sanctions, punishments, and similar things. Rather, they should devote themselves to the positive sides of their history and cultivate and develop their mutual relations. Sanctions and punishments belong to a political repertoire that was in force before the creation of the CSCE. After all, there would not be a reason for punishing Serbia for something because Serbia did not take any action against Yugoslavia or the rights of other peoples. In connection with Serbia, one also has to start from history because one can learn from it: No objective has ever been reached by means of sanctions against the Serbs, even less by pressure and punishments. Three times this century, in 1914, 1941, and 1948, Serbia said loud and clearly no. And in the end nobody was able to break Serbian resistance.

[Reuter] Why must the borders of this republic be newly drawn in the event of Croatia's secession?

[Jovanovic] Internal borders are hardly a problem for Slovenia. Regarding Croatia and Serbia, two republics that have a joint border in the north, things are different. Their borders were very arbitrarily drawn by Tito, with

ethnic and historical principles being ignored. Except for Serbia and Montenegro, no Yugoslav republic had borders that were internationally recognized in history. Only they had existed as independent states before 1918. The borders must be redefined by means of negotiations. One must negotiate again and again, but not wage war. Referendums must be carried out, so that the right to self-determination is implemented.

[Reuter] Why does Serbia expect so much understanding particularly from Germany in the present situation?

[Jovanovic] Talking of Yugoslavia's and Germany's inner borders, one has to recall that Germany insisted for 40 years that the inner-German border was of an administrative nature and thus not a state border. We always respected this German attitude. And we also contributed to the implementation of the German people's dream of many decades by our positive attitude. I would appeal to the German public and the German Federal Government to remember these facts and, in particular, when discussing the inner-Yugoslav borders, not to apply another standard than was formerly done in the case of the inner-German border. A country that rightly and passionately struggled for its unification should not give the impression that it advocates the breaking apart and disintegration of Yugoslavia.

Kostic on Situation of Serbs in Croatia

LD2708215991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2039 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Novi Sad, August 27 (TANJUG)—Serbia is avoiding involvement in an armed conflict with Croatia because it believes that the question of the position of the Serb population in that Yugoslav Republic can be settled peacefully, member of the Yugoslav Presidency from the province of Vojvodina Jugoslav Kostic said on Tuesday evening.

In his view, this problem can be solved through the observance tf the principle of self-determination of every people to choose in what kind of community and with whom they want to live.

It would be easier to solve the current Yugoslav crisis if the citizens of the Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina accepted Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's recent initiative on Yugoslavia's future system, Kostic said at a gathering of members of the Socialist Party of Serbia in Novi Sad.

Rejection of this inititive and polarisation in Bosnia-Hercegovina would have devastating results, he said.

Kostic warned about the difficult position of the population in Croatia, where they are exposed to persecution by "the fascist authorities" and forced to use [word indistinct] themselves in order to protect their national identity and civil rights.

Recalling that Serbia was bound by its own Constitution to protect the Serbian people wherever it may live, Kostic said that, because Serbs were "now endangered in Croatia, Serbia is making major efforts to help them, primarily providing them with material assistance."

Kostic added that Serbia was making efforts to prepare itself militarily so that, if need be, it could protect primarily the integrity of the Serbian people and all citizens of Serbia.

Jovanovic on Croat Responsibility For War

AU2808124391 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1100 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Alfred Schroeder report from Bonn]

[Text] Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic held talks and met the press in Bonn today. As he did in his talks with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher on 27 August, the Serbian foreign minister rejected the policy pursued by Croatia and Slovenia and held the Croats responsible for the volatile situation in the Yugoslav multinational state.

He said that the Croats, in particular, were systematically pursuing the aim of achieving the recognition of their country as an independent state. He added that they were pushing secessionist aspirations. In this way, they wanted to create an opportunity for themselves to request the help of other countries' armed forces in their fight against the Serbs and the Yugoslav Federal Army.

Jovanovic's statements before the Federal Press Conference were a blazing accusation against Croatia, which the minister said was really responsible for the bloody conflicts. He said Croatia had armed the party and the people and did not have the situation on its territory under control. Croatia was responsible for the continuation of the bloodshed, said Jovanovic in English, and added:

[Begin Jovanovic recording in English] Unfortunately, the cease-fire that was agreed upon a month ago has been continuously violated by Croatia, and now we have a situation that may lead to real war. [end recording] He said that this was regrettable and even tragic, and Croatia was the only one responsible for this.

Jovanovic harshly criticized media reports, including those in Germany, that presented Serbia as the culprit, which he said does not at all correspond to the facts. Jovanovic said that he warned Genscher and other leading politicians with whom he held talks in Bonn against recognizing Croatia and Slovenia because it helped no one, but harmed many. He said he had realized that Bonn and Belgrade wanted the same thing—an end to violence and bloodshed. However, the starting positions and the assessment of the situation were different, said Jovanovic.

According to the foreign minister, Bonn's inclination to recognize the two republics—above all Croatia—diplomatically is attributable to the lack of objective

information. He reiterated that Serbia wanted to maintain the unity of Yugoslavia. He added that Croatia's position in this respect had radically changed recently. Croatia was seeing itself as a nation, and the Serbs living there as part of this nation, an idea that he said could never be accepted. He said that his government was in favor of a strong Serbia and a united Yugoslavia.

Jovanovic Accuses Croatia of Igniting Situation

LD2808143491 Berlin ADN in German 1224 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic has accused Croatian forces of intentionally intensifying the military situation to force countries whose sympathies are for the separation of Croatia from Yugoslavia into drawing quick conclusions. The foreign minister gave the assurance in Bonn today that no soldier or volunteer from Serbia is involved in this war in Croatia. Therefore, he will not understand if the ultimatum resolved by the EC foreign ministers yesterday on the consequences of further violations of the cease-fire are directed against his Republic.

Serbia is pursuing a resolution of the Yugoslav conflict without the use of force. Jovanovic directed that the call for the cease-fire agreed upon should be adhered to, above all, by the Croatian military groups, some of whom, he said, are not under Zagreb's control and others of whom are apparently under no control at all.

The foreign minister strongly emphasized that Serbia has no territorial claims and "no other interest" vis-a-vis Croatia. He rejected the accusation of pursuing a pan-Serbian expansionist policy.

Jovanovic presented the Serbian position, according to which the clashes in Croatia are a war by the Zagreb leadership against a part of its own population, the Serbian minority. The minority had its democratic rights taken away and was forced to recognize fascist symbols of the Croatian state, which is concerned with unilateral independence. This is what caused the "revolt" among the Serbian population in Croatia.

Jovanovic criticized what he called the superficial and distorted information in the German media, above all, on the deeper causes of the conflict in Yugoslavia and on Serbia's role.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Leaders Demand Ban on Bosnian Army Conscription

LD2708094791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0813 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Sarajevo, August 27 (TANJUG)—The presidency of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) for the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is demanding of the Republic's citizens, HDZ party members and Croats living in Bosnia-Hercegovina not to send their sons to serve their military service in the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) until a political solution is found to the Yugoslav crisis.

Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina make up about 14 percent of the Republic's ethnically mixed population.

According to a HDZ announcement, a political solution to the crisis can be arrived at only through peaceful means.

The HDZ for Bosnia-Hercegovina also condemns the use of Bosnia- Hercegovina's territory for 'terrorist attacks by the JNA and volunteers against the Republic of Croatia.'

In expectation of a war conflict, which according to the HDZ for Bosnia-Hercegovina could soon include Bosnia-Hercegovina, the JNA is warned that it is 'taking on a historical responsibility for the present and future numerous victims, unless it withdraws to barracks and stops being a political factor in the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.'

'The HDZ for Bosnia-Hercegovina upholds the justified claims of mothers in Bosnia-Hercegovina that their sons return from serving their military service in the JNA,' as set out in the announcement.

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Bosnian Croat Leader Promises To Aid Croatia

AU2708165791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] The Croats from Bosnia-Hercegovina will help their brothers in Croatia defend sovereignty and democracy. This was stated by Stjepan Kljujic, leader of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] of Bosnia-Hercegovina, at a news conference today. He accused the Army of implementing a well-thought-out plan to overthrow democratic authorities in Croatia. Kljujic announced the possibility of the HDZ withdrawing from the government in Bosnia-Hercegovina and becoming part of the opposition. Ljubomir Nikolic reports:

[Nikolic] Operation Frame [ram] is currently being carried out against Croatia. This operation was planned by Army generals and Serbian politicians. Croatia's position is tragic, with 40 percent of its territory amputated, schools, hospitals, and churches being bombed, and Bosnia-Hercegovina used as the military proving ground for these operations. Everything is directed against the sovereignty and freedom of Croatia, which the Croats from Bosnia- Hercegovina will help to defend. This was stated today at a regular news conference by Stjepan Kljujic, leader of the HDZ of Bosnia-Hercegovina. He (?called) the Yugoslav People's Army fascist because, he said, of its brutal aggression on Croatia.

In regard to Branko Kostic [vice president of the SFRY Presidency], Kljujic said that he represented primitive Balkan resistance that is supported by the Army. As regards Ante Markovic [president of the Federal Executive Council], he said that he was telling the world lies about the situation in the country and that he was behaving as if he was not interested in the bloody events in Croatia.

Kljujic is particularly bothered by the fact that Serbian intellectuals have not dissociated themselves from attacks on Croatia and the policy of the Serbian leadership. Stjepan Kljujic also told journalists that the Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina are not satisfied with the actual occupation of this Republic, the large troop movements, and the behavior by the Serbian Democratic Party.

We are waiting for President Alija Izetbegovic to return from Italy so that we can put things in proper perspective. Otherwise, the HDZ will withdraw from the Government and join the opposition, Kljujic said. He also said that his party will ask all Croatian youths in Bosnia-Hercegovina to forego their military service in September, to escape being used in a war against their brothers in Croatia.

Today, I will return my reserve officer's card in protest, Kljujic said. Kljujic also expressed his dissatisfaction with the verdicts of the military court in Sarajevo, claiming that 80 percent of the inmates in the Sarajevo Military Prison are Croats.

Government 'Warned' of Unconstitutional Conduct

AU2708202391 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] The chief republican inspector for national defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina today warned the Republic Government of the unconstitutionality and illegality of its decisions that defers the implementation of the Law on Amendments to the Law on Military Service and the Law on Amendments to the Law of All People's Defense on the Territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

According to the inspector, these decisions are unconstitutional because the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina is not empowered to invalidate or defer the implementation of federal laws and other regulations adopted by relevant federal bodies.

Also illegal is point two of the decision in which the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina demands that the matters concerning military service and mobilization in the republic be carried out until further notice in the way they have been carried out up to now—in other words, in a way that is not legally regulated. In this way, the Government is directly encouraging lawlessness and anarchy in regard to military service and mobilization, or, according to the view of the inspector, in the entire sphere of defense.

Soldiers' Parents Present Demands to Assembly

AU2708191791 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Zdenko Jevduh report]

[Text] The ninth session of the Chamber of Citizens of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which commenced on 30 and 31 July of this year, resumed work today. In July, the deputies completed 24 points of the agenda. The 17 remaining points were left for today.

However, during the adoption of the agenda, the session was unexpectedly disrupted by the arrival of parents of soldiers from Bosnia-Hercegovina who are either already in the Army or have been ordered to report. The session of the Chamber of Citizens of the Assembly continued in the presence of the parents, but without the deputies of the Serbian Democratic Party and the Serbian Renewal Movement. There was only one point on the agenda, that being the demands of the parents.

The parents demand that all soldiers who have completed military service be immediately sent home; that all soldiers from Bosnia- Hercegovina who are in the service outside Bosnia-Hercegovina be immediately reassigned to the units of the Yugoslav People's Army in the Republic; that the recruits not be sent in the future to do their military service outside Bosnia-Hercegovina; that the regular units of the Yugoslav People's Army stationed on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina not be included in military operations outside Bosnia-Hercegovina without the permission of the presidency of the Republic, unless this is done to protect the exterior borders of Yugoslavia from (?outside aggressors); that the soldiers and conscripts not be considered deserters if they leave the ranks of the Army or refuse to serve in it if the conditions specified in the first four points of this demand are not met. If this decision is not fully implemented in the next 24 hours, the parents demand the resignation of the entire General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army.

After that, parent representatives presented individual cases, each dramatic in its own right. The representatives of the Bosnian leadership also spoke. These included Stjepan Kljujic, Muhamed Cengic, Ljerko Doko, and Irfan Ajanovic.

The truncated Chamber of Citizens of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina adopted the parents' demands. The deputies then left, but parents stayed in the Assembly building to wait for the anti-war rally scheduled to take place in front of the Bosnian Assembly at 1900 (1700 GMT]. There are about 1,000 people in front of the Assembly now. It appears that not only has this rally not started on schedule, but will not start for some time.

[During the 1700 GMT newscast, about 1725 GMT, Jevduh telephones the station with another live report, saying that the rally scheduled for 1700 GMT had not begun. He also says that there are over 2,000 people in front of the Assembly and that the crowd will be addressed by Bosnian Vice Premier Muhamed Cengic and President of the Chamber of Citizens Abdulah Konjicija.]

Parents' Protest Continues

LD2808081791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0630 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] A few hundred parents, who spent the night in the Bosnia- Hercegovina Assembly after a protest meeting attended by approximately 10,000 people last night, blocked the main city's thoroughfare in front of the Assembly this morning. Tram and car traffic was blocked for almost two hours, and the parents let the traffic pass only a few minutes ago, when Stjepan Kljujic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency addressed them. Distressed and exhausted parents, having spent the night on Assembly Hall benches, persisted in their demand that their children should return from the Army that is leading them to a fratricidal war. At the moment, they are having talks with Stjepan Kljujic in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly. They have requested buses to go to Belgrade to hold a protest rally in front of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. Stjepan Kljujic called on them to be dignified and persistent and said that if they can spend your money on various missiles, then you can get buses and fight for your sons.

Macedonia

Macedonian Education Minister Dimitrov Resigns

LD2708141391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1004 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Summary] Skopje, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—Dr. Dimitar Dimitrov, minister of education and sport in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, has resigned. He informed Prime Minister Dr. Nikola Kljusev that he is unable to continue in his post owing to government support for a change in the educational management in schools with tuition in Albanian as proposed by the Party of Democratic Changes and the National Democratic Party.

Assembly Endorses Text of Draft Constitution

AU2708142291 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2000 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] This evening, the Macedonian Assembly endorsed the text of the new draft constitution of Macedonia. After a polemical debate in which deputies of the Party for Democratic Prosperity and the National Democratic Party insisted that—in the issue of defining the Macedonian state—the Albanian nationality should be given the status of a people, the Macedonian parliament nevertheless endorsed the proposed version of the draft constitution by acclamation. The Assembly also adopted conclusions according to which a public debate will be held by 15 September, and the proposal for the new constitution is expected to enter the Assembly procedure by the end of that month.

This morning, deputies adopted amendments to the old Law on Referendum, to create formal legal conditions for holding a plebiscite in Macedonia scheduled for 8 September.

The Assembly asked the military authorities not to carry out mobilization in the Republic during the days of the referendum. The deputies were informed that prominent republican officials, Kiro Gligorov, Stojan Andov, and Nikola Kljusev spoke today with the top military leadership of the Third Military District and were assured that mobilization will not be carried out and that it will be made possible for all soldiers and officers in our Republic to take part in the referendum.

At the continuation of this session, which was adjourned several times, republican deputies adopted amendments proposed by the Party for Democratic Prosperity, by which legal regulations will be amended and it will be

made possible for school records to be bilingual in elementary and secondary schools in places where ethnic Albanians live and go to school.

Deputies adopted the government's suggestion that amendments to the law on the transformation of social capital should wait for an analysis by an expert group formed by the Government.

Talks Held With Albanians; Cooperation Discussed

AU2708135491 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2000 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Governmental delegations of the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Albania, headed by vice premiers Jovan Andonov and Zydi Pepa respectively, held a working meeting in Ohrid today. This return visit should conclude with concrete results since both countries are advocating a market economy that should know no borders, particularly considering the geographic position and good-neighborliness between the two countries. It will thereby be possible to establish better conditions for improving the standard of living of the citizens both in our country and in neighboring Albania.

The Republic of Albania has begun an initiative for extending the gas pipeline in Macedonia to Albania. This initiative was accepted in principle, but with a remark that it can be realized only if one obtains the agreement of the Soviet side. It was also pointed out that this initiative must not clash with the times when gas is used by our side. [passage omitted]

Dr. Nikola Kljusev, president of the Macedonian Government, (?received) the delegation of the Government of the Republic of Albania headed by Zydi Pepa and had brief, constructive talks.